

# The GREEN BOOK

BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

## PART 1

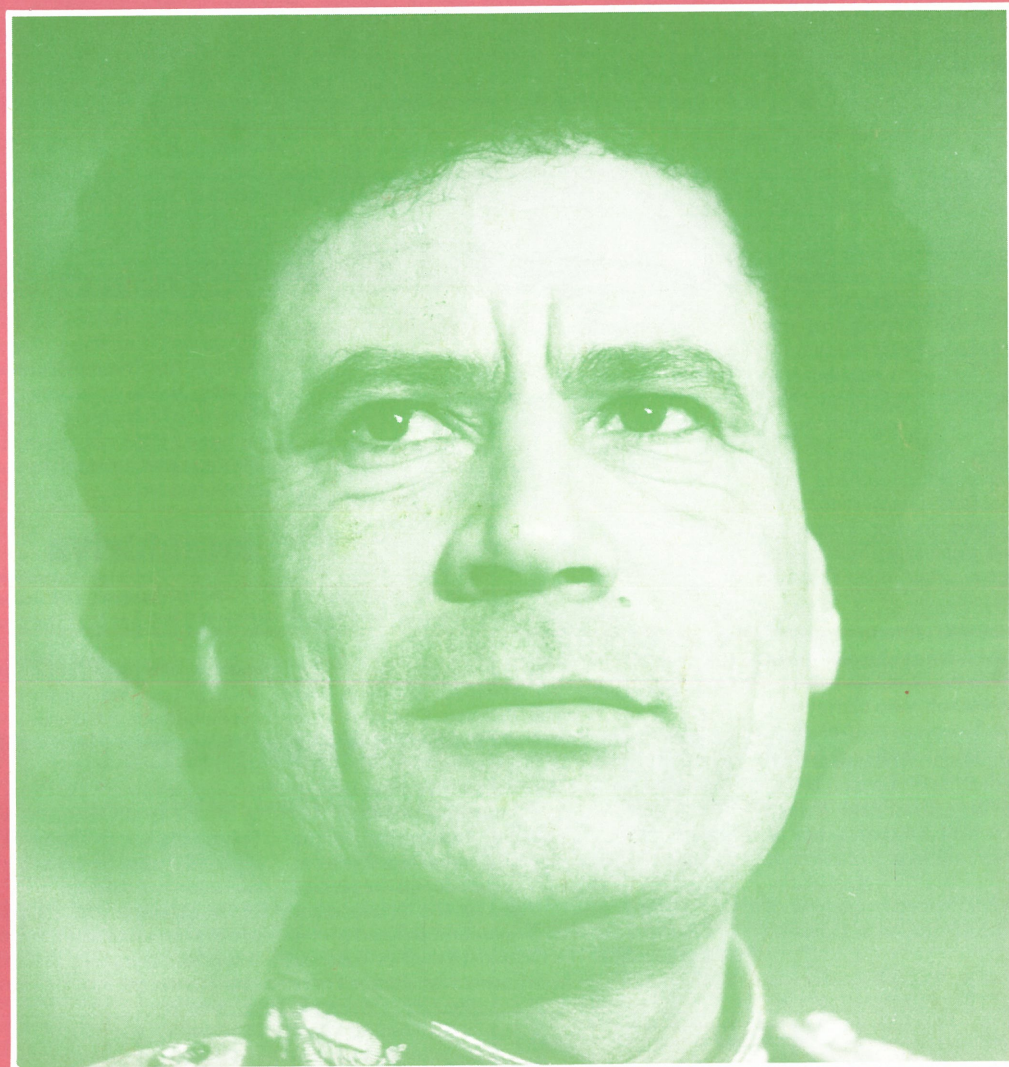
The solution of the problem of Democracy

## PART 2

The solution of the Economic Problem

## PART 3

The Social Basis of the Third Universal Theory



In these three volumes the Libyan leader examines the economic, social and political problems confronting the world today, and presents a radical programme for their solution.

The Green Book provides a comprehensive review of the theories on which the Libyan Jamahiriya is based. The proposals put forward by Muammer al Qadhafi are not merely theories but an explanation and insight into the structure and priorities of modern Libya.

Copies of The Green Book can be obtained from The Information Department, The Libyan People's Bureau of the Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, 5 St James's Square, London SW1.

# jamahiriya review

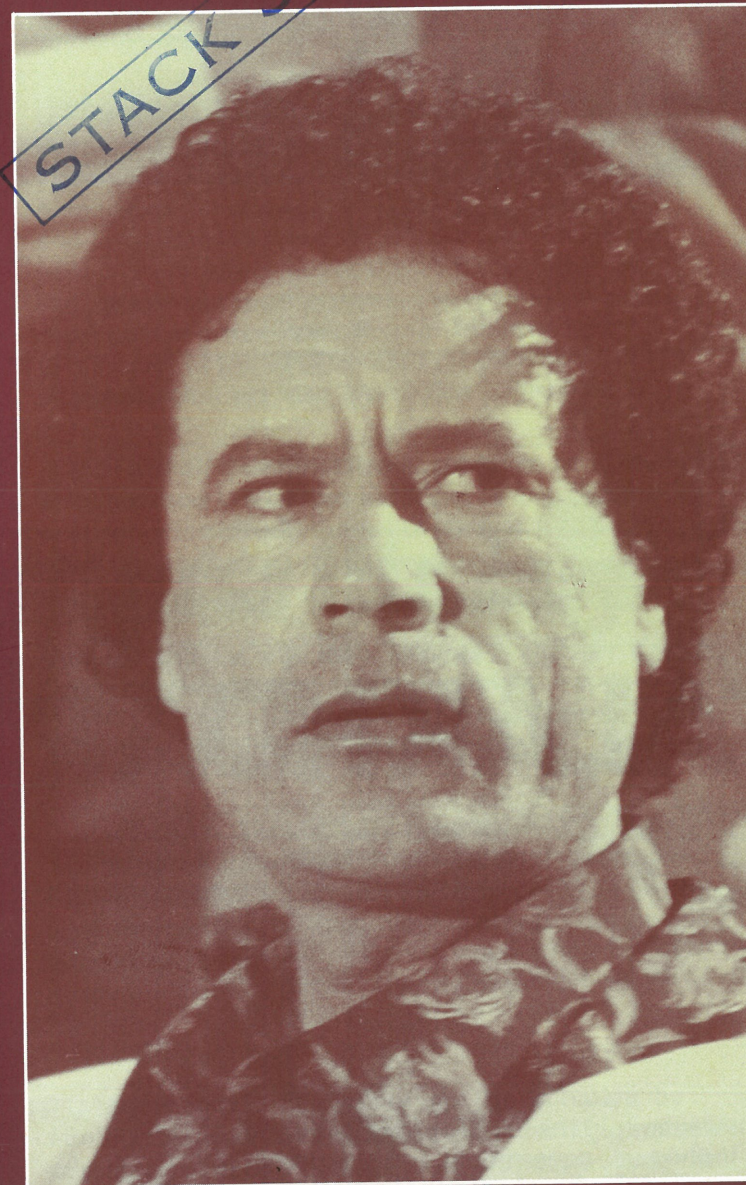
March 1984

Price 50p

Britain rebuked for hostile policies

## THE AGE OF THE JAMAHIRIYA

The Sebha Declaration recalled



'DIRECT POPULAR authority is the basis of the political system of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. Authority belongs to the people and to no one else. The people exercise authority through popular congresses, popular committees, trade unions, federations, craft associations and the General People's Congress.'  
– The Sebha Declaration, 2nd March 1977

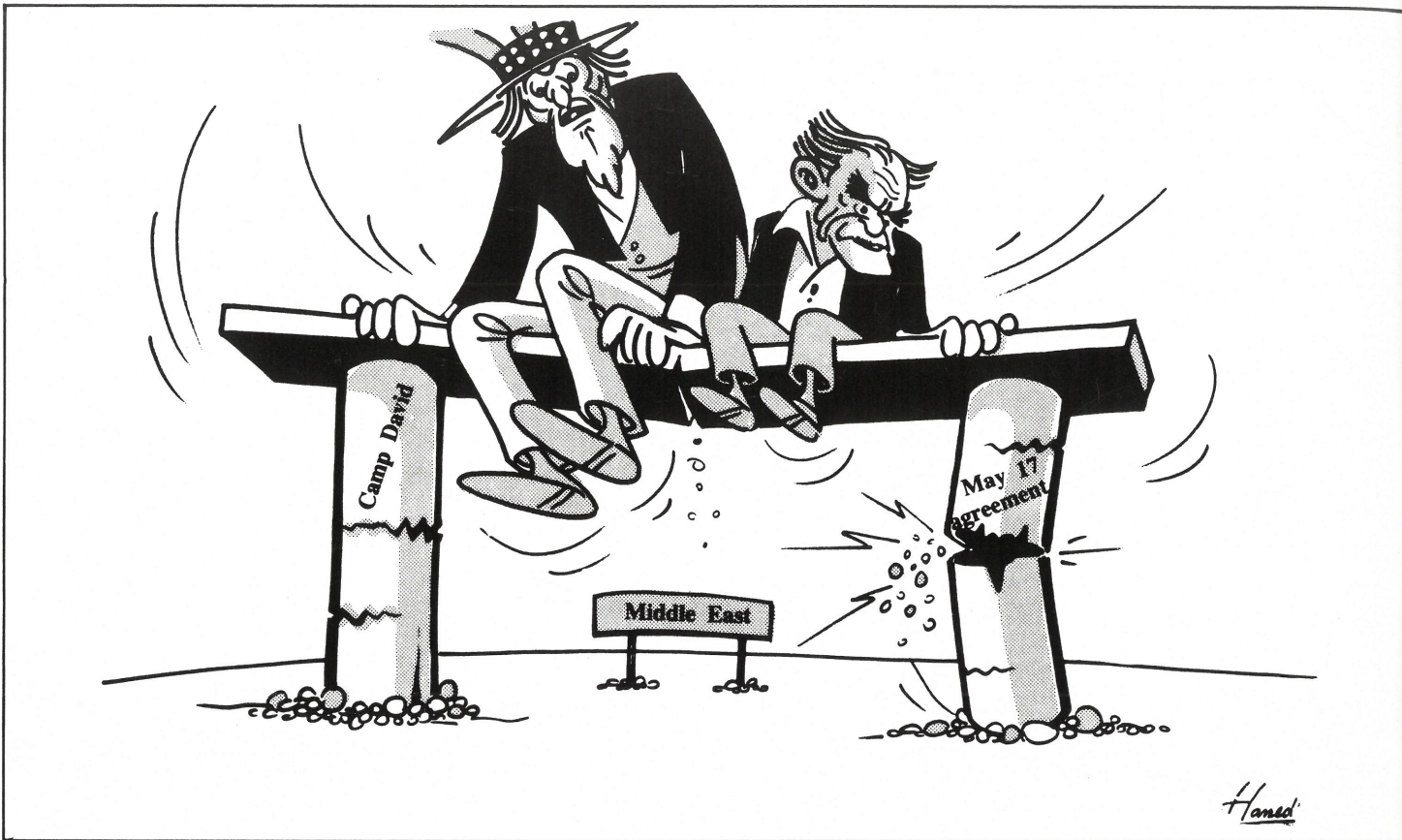
'FROM THE desert, the dawn of a new age shines upon humanity, the age of the masses. For the desert is neither arid nor desolate. From the desert, and on this fateful day in the life of our people, nation and mankind, comes forth the ringing voice of a people announcing the establishment of the authority of the people, the birth of the Jamahiriya, the beginning of the age of the masses. The desert may not bring forth vegetation, but it brings forth moral values and gives birth to eternal messages of civilisation.' – Muammer Qadhafi, 2nd March 1977

Also in this issue:

**DEMOCRACY IN ACTION**  
**The General People's Congress**

**A LANDMARK IN MAGHREB UNITY**  
**A progress report on recent developments**





The Green March

AL-ZAHF

THE WEEKLY IDEOLOGICAL JOURNAL

الزحف الاخضر

AL-AKH DAR

OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES

Green Book

Green Book

Green Book

THE WAY TO THE ERA OF THE MASSES

AL-ZAHF AL-AKH DAR — the first newspaper in the history of the Arab and international press not owned by an individual, government or any tools of exploitation; the ideological weekly journal of the Revolutionary Committees, supporting the cause of freedom everywhere and fighting exploitation of the masses.

English language edition available every week. Order your copy from your newsagent or bookshop.

jamahiriya

review

March 1984      No.46

□ COVER STORY: 2nd March 1984 marks the seventh anniversary of the Sebha Declaration in which the jamahiri system of democracy was established in Libya. A special essay recalls this historic event and its implications for Libya and the future of mankind. See page 16.

□ PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY: Last month the General People's Congress held its ninth ordinary session in Tripoli, the Libyan capital. Its task was to review the resolutions from the Basic People's Congresses, and formulate the Jamahiriya's political, social and economic programme for the coming year. A special extended report reviews the resolutions, and highlights the main points from Muammer Qadhafi's speech to the GPC. Details of the country's new administration are also given. See pages 9 to 12.

□ BRITAIN REBUKED: Libyan students in Britain have accused the United Kingdom of adopting 'an antagonistic attitude against the Libyan people and the Arab nation'. At a press conference in London they explained why they had taken over the People's Committee which runs the Libyan People's Bureau, and set out their formula for closer ties between Britain and the Jamahiriya, based on 'equality' and 'mutual respect'. A report appears in this month's Panorama News Section.

□ EUROPEAN DIALOGUE: Recent visits to the Jamahiriya by the Foreign Ministers of Italy and France provided Libya with an opportunity to discuss major issues concerning bilateral relations. Subsequently Muammer Qadhafi gave a number of press interviews which are reviewed on pages 13-14.

□ MAGHREB UNITY: Following the initiative by Libya to strengthen relations with the Maghreb states, a series of meetings have produced important results aimed at closer economic integration and political harmony. Recent developments are examined on page 15.

Published by Jamahiriya Review, 13A Hillgate Street, London W8 7SP (Telephone 01-727 3131 Telex 892830 Event G) and printed by W.F.Aldridge & Company Ltd, London SW1 6NW. We acknowledge the co-operation of JANA, the Jamahiriya News Agency, in providing its daily news information bulletin.

EDITORIAL

Architects of their own disaster.....4

Democracy in action .....4

PANORAMA NEWS REVIEW

'America can be defeated' .....5

Arafat blamed for Rome murder .....5

Paris admits its 'error' .....5

US allegations rebutted .....5

Links with new Nigerian government .....6

Aid mission assesses results .....6

Call for Non-Aligned role in East-West talks .....6

Disquiet as Mubarak visits Zaire and Morocco .....6

Britain rebuked for hostile policies in the Middle East ..7

Revolutionary Committees formed in Poland and Bulgaria .....7

New Islamic ties with Malaysia .....7

Exhibitions signal continued co-operation .....7

Libya a growing centre for pan-Arab sports .....8

Mexican naval personnel tour projects .....8

Lecturers discuss town planning courses .....8

Tripoli twins with Managua .....8

Druze and Palestinians discuss strategy .....8

Condolences on Andropov's death .....8

LIBYAN AFFAIRS

Facing the double challenge .....9

Fianna Fail Leader attends GPC .....9

Defence through Arab unity .....10

Military conscription to continue .....10

The Jamahiriya's new administration .....11

Secretariat of General People's Congress .....11

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Libya acts to ease tension .....13

Intruders released .....13

Qadhafi spells out priorities .....14

ARAB HOMELAND

A landmark in Maghreb unity .....15

Co-operation programme stresses economic integration .....15

TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT

Libya becomes Switzerland's largest oil supplier .....17

Transport links expand by air and sea .....17

Success for afforestation schemes .....17

Zuetina desalination plant commissioned .....17

New contracts for ABU valued at \$124 million .....18

Grain output at high level .....18

Qadhafi inspects industrial plants .....18

\$60 million livestock order .....18

MONITOR

Day-by-day chronicle of Libyan affairs and developments .....19



## Architects of their own disaster

'THIS VICTORY is the only positive development on the Arab scene'. That is how Muammer Qadhafi, leader of the Revolution, summed-up the sweeping advances made by leftist and Muslim forces in Lebanon in recent weeks. Addressing the General People's Congress in Tripoli last month, the Libyan revolutionary leader also reaffirmed the Jamahiriya's support for Lebanon's National Salvation Front, which links the communities opposed to the Phalangist government of Amin Gemayel and to the NATO troops, masquerading as a 'peace-keeping force', which have been propping-up the Beirut regime.

The liberation of West Beirut and a large swathe of territory to the south by Druse and Shia Muslim militias, the collapse of the American-trained and equipped Lebanese army, and the abrupt departure of the US, British and Italian contingents in the so-called Multinational peacekeeping force, were of much more than local Lebanese significance. Ever since the Zionist invasion of Lebanon in 1982, the West, headed by the United States, has seen the country as the focus for its efforts to establish its diktat over the wider region.

The key tools in the US-Israeli designs were Amin Gemayel and his right wing and chauvinist Phalange Party. Ironically, however, it has been those very same attributes which made the Phalangists such useful tools for Washington and Tel Aviv, but also spelled their ultimate defeat by the Lebanese Muslims and leftists.

Historically, Lebanon's Maronite Christians, and their Phalangist Party, have rejected Arabism and Islam, and instead have identified closely with the West. Moreover, they have seen it as their historic destiny to subjugate Lebanon's Muslim communities. To informed observers, however, it has been obvious that peace can come to Lebanon only with a reconciliation between all the factions. In turn, such a reconciliation will demand substantial political concessions: the Phalangists and the Maronites will have to abandon many of the privileges which they have jealously and violently guarded since they were granted them by Paris in the days of the French mandate over Syria.

After a decade of violence, the Lebanese people were prepared to give the Gemayel regime a chance to devise a formula for reconciliation. The Beirut regime, however, stubbornly refused to countenance any meaningful reforms which would have allowed a fair share of political and economic power for the Muslims and leftists, who form a clear majority of the population. As the months dragged by, it became obvious that Gemayel's position was becoming increasingly untenable as the Lebanese people's patience wore thin. By relying solely on Israeli and NATO military force, rather than on the goodwill of the Lebanese people as a whole, Amin Gemayel and his Phalangists became the architects of their own disaster, and that of their western backers.

## Democracy in action

A RESHUFFLE of personnel in the General People's Committee and in the Secretariat of the General People's Congress, and a series of resolutions defining the Jamahiriya's stance on major Arab and international issues, were outcomes of last month's Ninth Ordinary Session of the General People's Congress (GPC). In themselves, these decisions were not exceptional; they parallel resolutions of governments and parliaments the world over.

What is different in Libya, however, is that it is the people as a whole who formulate policy, and not an elite group of professional politicians who claim to be acting in the interests of the people. The country-wide network of Basic People's Congresses (BPCs), the local grassroots forums where all the citizens in a neighbourhood meet to debate policy issues, allow the entire Libyan people to play a direct, personal role in the decision-making process. Government in the traditional sense has been devolved to the point where it has quite simply ceased to exist. The careful and systematic way in which the BPCs and the GPC formulate Libyan policy, however, demonstrate that an absence of formal governmental structures does not result in chaos.

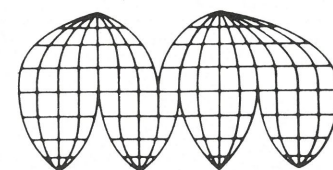
When Muammer Qadhafi and the Free Unionist Officers toppled the corrupt regime of King Idris, their aim was to engineer a fundamental shift in the balance of power, away from central government and towards the people. It was this determination that the Al Fateh Revolution should not entail the mere replacement of one dictatorship with another which has consistently guided the revolutionary authorities, and

which led to their guidance of the Libyan people towards the *jamahiri* system of direct democracy.

Muammer Qadhafi's only official position is Leader of the Revolution, and the only duty attached to this post is to advise the people on policies which would accord with the ideals of the Revolution. Critics of revolutionary Libya, however, have persistently claimed that the *jamahiri* system is a sham, and that real power continues to rest with Muammer Qadhafi and the Free Unionist Officers. Such critics conveniently overlook the occasions when the BPCs have rebuffed policies suggested by Colonel Qadhafi, and a striking example came last month in the decision to maintain Libya's traditional system of military conscription. This was despite the Libyan revolutionary leader's clear and frequently stated preference for the establishment of the 'armed people', in which every citizen, regardless of sex, would play a direct part in Libyan and Arab defence. Such a situation could not have arisen in many other countries, where parliaments' only role is to rubber-stamp the decisions of the rulers.

The coming year will be critical for the Arab nation as the Zionists, backed by the United States, seek desperately to reassert their influence following their setbacks in Lebanon. The outcome of events in the next twelve months will shape the region for decades. The Libyan people can be well satisfied that their tried and tested system of direct democracy has assured them a role in regional developments which has been decided not by an authoritarian ruler or government, but by themselves.

A monthly  
review of  
Libyan, Islamic  
and Third World  
affairs



PANORAMA  
news review

### 'America can be defeated'

AS THE Phalangist regime of Amin Gemayel came under severe pressure from Lebanese nationalist and Islamic fighters last month, thousands of Libyans staged a demonstration in Tripoli in protest at the shelling of Lebanon by warships of the US Sixth Fleet.

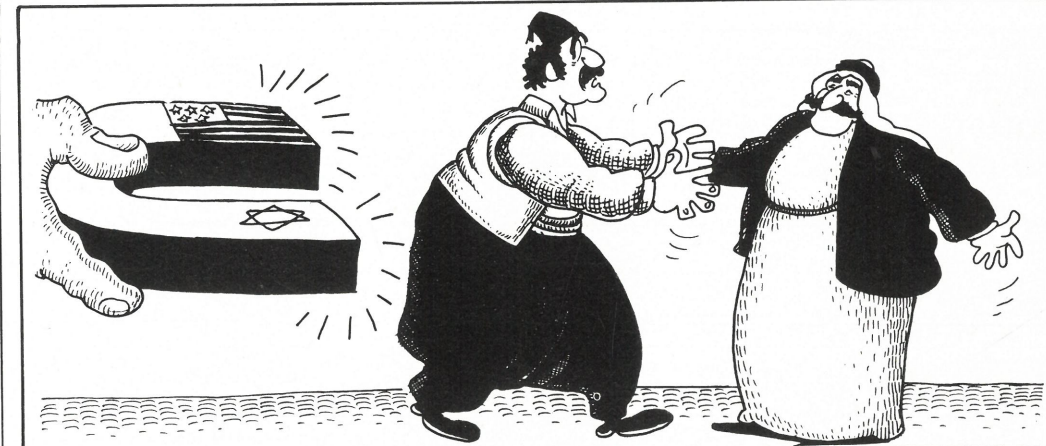
A renewal of fighting in Lebanon had become inevitable following the steady refusal of the Phalangists to countenance any formula for sharing political power with Lebanon's Muslim and leftist communities. In early February, Muslim and leftist fighters launched an offensive, and within days had secured control over Beirut's western sector. The victory precipitated a rapid redeployment to warships offshore by the US marines who since 1982 have been stationed in Beirut to shore up the Phalangists. The British contingent in the Multinational Force (MNF), of which the Americans formed a part, also sought refuge in a naval vessel off the coast. Despite the departure of the US ground forces, however, American warships took a direct part in the fighting, repeatedly shelling positions of the Muslim and leftist militias.

In a declaration affirming that Washington was 'leading a Tenth Crusade against the Arabs and Islam', the Libyan protestors placed personal responsibility for the strife in Lebanon on President Ronald Reagan, who has consistently backed the Phalangists' intransigence. The statement called on the Arab nation to shake off its inertia in the face of the US onslaught, adding that an American defeat 'is possible, as has been confirmed by their retreat from Beirut'.

### Arafat blamed for Rome murder

MR AMMAR al Taggazy, Secretary of the Libyan People's Bureau in Rome, died on 10th February, eleven days after being critically wounded by gunmen outside his apartment.

Shortly before Mr Taggazy's death, Tripoli revealed that the attack had been perpetrated by Yasser Arafat's wing of the Fatah Palestinian resistance organ-



isation. On 7th February the Jamahiriya news agency JANA said that 'it had been established that Salah Khalaf (a close aide of Yasser Arafat) was behind the execution of that treacherous act, carried out by a person named Zakariah Ba'lushah'.

JANA cited 'informed quarters' as saying that Arafat's men were also planning an attack on the Secretary of the Libyan People's Bureau in Athens. Earlier, on 1st February, JANA revealed that there was a list of targets which the Arafat group 'believes should be removed by acts similar to the one carried out recently against the Secretary of the Libyan People's Bureau in Rome'. The report added that there was 'detailed and reliable information' on plans to assassinate the Secretary of the People's Bureau in Madrid and the Secretary of the JANA office in the Spanish capital.

Observers speculate that the Arafat wing of the Fatah organisation is hitting at Libyan targets in retaliation for Tripoli's principled opposition to Ronald Reagan's 'peace plan'. The plan calls on the Arab nation to accept the legitimacy of Israel within its 1967 frontiers, and provides for the Arabs of the West Bank and Gaza Strip to exercise 'self government in association with Jordan'. It rules out the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, even in the 1967 occupied territories, and it offers nothing to the million Palestinian Arabs expelled from their homes and property in those areas of Palestine seized by the Zionists in 1948. Yasser Arafat has nevertheless consistently flirted with the plan, and this was a key factor in the rebellion which engulfed his Fatah group last year, and led to Arafat's expulsion from northern Lebanon.

### Paris admits its 'error'

THE EXTENT to which information on the Chadian civil war is manipulated by western governments to suit their own ends has been strikingly illustrated by an admission from Paris that a French Jaguar warplane destroyed in Chad in January was downed by machine-gun fire and not, as originally claimed, by a Soviet-made ground-to-air missile.

The Jaguar was hit, and its pilot killed, on 25th January, as it was attacking forces of the legitimate Chadian Government of Unity and National Transition (GUNT), which were returning north after a successful raid on positions of the illegal Habre regime. At the time, the French Defence Ministry claimed that the plane had been downed by a SAM 7 missile, made in the Soviet Union and supplied to the GUNT forces by Libya.

France last year sent troops and warplanes to shore up the Habre regime in N'Djamena, which was facing imminent collapse after a series of major military successes by the GUNT forces. Paris justified its intervention in the Chadian civil war by claiming that it was merely acting to counter military aggression by the Jamahiriya. In fact, there are no Libyan troops in Chad, and the SAM 7 story was presumably designed to bolster the French allegations. Only the sophisticated Libyan armed forces, so the argument went, would have the capability to handle a SAM.

On 31st January, however, the French daily *Le Monde* cited official sources in Paris as admitting that the Jaguar had in fact been hit from truck-mounted 23mm anti-aircraft machine guns as it strafed the GUNT column from a low

altitude. The day before, revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi had affirmed that the plane was destroyed by machine guns, declaring: 'This missile story is a lie aimed at deceiving French public opinion.'

### US allegations rebutted

DR ALI Abdesalam Treiki, the Jamahiriya's Permanent Representative at the United Nations, has firmly rebutted American claims that US citizens faced personal danger in Libya. It was on this pretext that US Secretary of State George Shultz on 2nd December imposed for a further year a ban on US passport holders travelling to the Jamahiriya. The ban was first imposed in 1982, as part of the Reagan administration's efforts to sabotage Libya's development programme by depriving the country of skilled foreign technicians.

In a letter to UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, Dr Treiki affirmed that 'at no time has an American citizen been exposed to any harassment in Libya', and he pointed to the scores of Americans who had defied the White House and remained in Libya, enjoying 'the same treatment, facilities, free medical and educational services as are available to citizens of the Jamahiriya'.

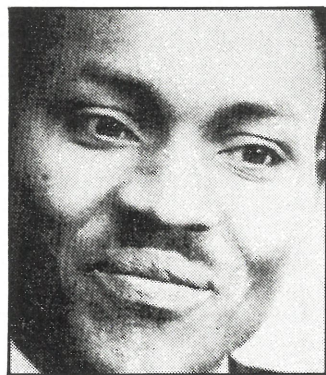
The Libyan envoy stressed that Tripoli 'welcomes all foreign nationals, including Americans, and guarantees their security and that of their families'.

The US allegations contrast strikingly with the experiences of Libyans in the United States. Students from the north African country have been arbitrarily arrested



► and detained, and Libyan diplomats at the UN have been harassed by a series of petty restrictions imposed by the State Department.

## Links with new Nigerian Government



Major General Buhari

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya and Nigeria are the two largest oil producers in the African continent, and both are key members of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Over the years, Libya and Nigeria have closely co-ordinated their oil production and marketing policies, and this has been particularly important since their oil is of similar grade and because western Europe is the principal market for both Libyan and Nigerian oil sales. The significance which Tripoli places on its links with Nigeria was highlighted last April, when Muammer Qadhafi visited Lagos as part of a tour of West Africa.

On 31st December the Nigerian armed forces staged a return to the political stage when they ousted the government of President Shugu Shagari, and replaced it with a Supreme Military Council headed by Major General Muhammad Buhari. Last month, the Jamahiriya moved to strengthen its ties with the new Nigerian leader. On 6th February Muammer Qadhafi conferred in Tripoli with Brigadier Muhammad Jadou, a member of the Nigerian Supreme Council and Chief of Staff of the Nigerian Armed Forces. During the talks, Brigadier Jadou conveyed a message to the Libyan leader from Major General Buhari.

## Aid mission assesses results

ISLAM FORMS one of the bases of the Al Fateh Revolution, guiding social and economic policies at home and strongly influencing Libya's relations with foreign peoples. To underline its commitment

to the spread of Islam, Libya has established the Islamic Call Society (ICS), which is charged with conducting missionary work abroad.

In Africa, Islam is attracting thousands of new adherents each year, and the continent has been a focus of the ICS's missionary activities. A special delegation from the Society, including doctors, pharmacists, nursing staff and Islamic preachers, has just completed a month-long tour embracing Uganda, Botswana, Benin, Upper Volta and Mali, aimed at spreading the Muslim faith and providing economic and social development assistance. On 23rd January, following their return to the Jamahiriya, members of the delegation met with Dr Muhammad Ahmad al Sharif, the ICS's Secretary, to discuss the outcome of their tour.

Libya's role in propagating the Islamic faith was last month acknowledged by the Chairman of the Islamic Call Association in the People's Republic of China. On 8th February the Jamahiriya news agency JANA said that at a ceremony in Peking to mark the inauguration of a new Arabic language laboratory, the Secretary had hailed the Jamahiriya's 'important role in preaching Islamic teachings and a brotherly spirit amongst Muslims everywhere'.

## Call for Non-Aligned role in East-West talks

A CALL for greater involvement by Mediterranean countries in efforts to ease East-West tensions has been made by the Libyan delegation to the European Disarmament Conference which convened in Stockholm in January. The Jamahiriya's delegation stressed that the escalating arms race between the East and West blocs, and the associated heightening of tension, had serious implications for neighbouring countries which were not themselves members of either bloc, and that they should therefore have a greater say in measures to reduce tensions.

The 35-nation Stockholm conference grouped NATO and Warsaw Pact countries with European neutrals, and aimed at instituting confidence-building measures to reduce the risk of war in Europe. A number of Non-Aligned Mediterranean countries, including Libya, attended as observers.

The head of the Libyan delegation told the conference that the Jamahiriya was deeply concerned with the security of Europe and the Mediterranean region because 'this in turn affects the national security of Libya'. The experience of the Libyan people in the Second World War provided a graphic example. They had not been a

direct party to the conflict, yet their country had been used as a major battlefield, and thousands of innocent Libyans had been killed or maimed in the crossfire. To this day, Libyans were being killed or wounded in accidental detonations of abandoned World War II munitions, and the presence of minefields had hampered the Jamahiriya's development programmes.

The escalating East-West confrontation had serious repercussions for the Jamahiriya and other Mediterranean countries, the Libyan delegate continued. Foreign powers had established a powerful military presence in the region, posing a 'serious threat to Libyan security and the security of other Mediterranean peoples', he declared.

He stressed that international disputes could best be resolved through negotiations at the United Nations and other world bodies, and not by resort to arms. Libya, he added, had always favoured dialogue, and not force, in its relations with its neighbours in the Mediterranean.

Urging the Stockholm conference to acknowledge the legitimate interests of countries like the Jamahiriya, the Libyan delegate stressed that Mediterranean peoples should in future 'be given a greater role in efforts to achieve peace and security for the Mediterranean'.

## Disquiet as Mubarak visits Zaire and Morocco

PROFOUND DISQUIET has been expressed in the Libyan Jamahiriya at recent visits by Egyptian President Husni Mubarak to Zaire and Morocco. The Cairo regime is one of Washington's closest allies, and is linked to the Zionists through the Camp David accords. In Tripoli, Mubarak's visits were seen in the context of American and Israeli efforts to extend their influence in the African and Arab regions, and to undermine the security and independence of progressive countries.

In a commentary on 1st February the Jamahiriya news agency JANA noted that Mubarak's visit to Zaire closely followed a visit to the central African country by the Zionist President, Haim Herzog. Both visits, said JANA, fell 'within the framework of US objectives in Africa', and were part of a concerted plan to 'launch offensives against progressive African countries and the Chadian people, who oppose the US and Zionist presence in Africa'. Mubarak's visit was not the result of personal desire, or of the wishes of the Egy-

ptian people. It had been 'planned and timed jointly by the US and the Zionists, to serve their aims in the continent'.

Following the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, most African countries severed their ties with the Zionists, in protest at Israel's invasion of African territory on the west bank of the Suez Canal. In the past two years, however, Tel Aviv has launched a determined campaign to regain its influence in the continent. Already, it has succeeded in restoring relations with the regimes in Zaire and Liberia, and it has established links with the illegal regime of Hissene Habre in the Chadian capital of N'Djamena.

JANA noted that Washington strongly approved of the Zionists' efforts to penetrate Africa, commenting: 'Nothing justifies the Egyptian President's visit to Zaire except the desire of this regime to link itself even more closely to the United States and to undertake a role that achieves the objectives of the strategic alliance between Washington and Tel Aviv'.



Husni Mubarak

In 1979 the Arab Summit in Baghdad resolved to boycott the Cairo regime until it abrogated Camp David. In December, Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, made a nonsense of this decision by visiting Cairo for talks with Husni Mubarak. The Egyptian President followed up his trip to Zaire with a visit to Morocco, and on 9th February the JANA Political Editor condemned the development as a 'new tragedy' which represented a 'further move away from Arab unanimity'. It 'sets a precedent for future behaviour which ignores the resolutions and charters agreed upon jointly by the Arab countries'.

In January, Rabat hosted the Islamic Summit, at which the Cairo regime was invited to rejoin the Islamic Conference Organisation, on condition that it abrogated the US-sponsored Camp David accords. Efforts have been made to portray Mubarak's visit to Rabat as being linked mainly with the Islamic Summit decision. This interpretation, however, was forcefully rejected by the JANA Polit-

ical Editor, and he concluded: 'To extend an invitation to the head of a regime which betrayed the Arab cause, and to welcome him in an Arab capital, creates a contradiction which it is hard to believe and impossible to justify'.

## Britain rebuked for 'hostile' policies in the Middle East

A TAKE-OVER of the Libyan People's Bureau in London by members of the Student Revolutionary Force in Britain was described as 'a protest against British policy in the Middle East' at a press conference held at the Bureau in St James's Square on 24th February.

The move came in the wake of the General People's Congress in Tripoli, which in its foreign policy resolutions called for 'relations with states to be decided according to their attitude towards the jamahiri system' and declared that Libya should 'reconsider existing relations with the countries of Western Europe'. The press conference was told that the students' decision was not a criticism of the previous People's Committee which heads the Bureau's administration, and facilities for visas and trade-related business had not been affected by the change.

One of the student leaders stressed that 'the Libyan people want a very strong relationship between the two peoples, and I think that the British people have an interest in improving such relations'. He pointed out that relations 'in the economic field have improved'.

However, he added, 'We would like to tell the British people that the British government does not take these interests into consideration. On the contrary, the British government takes an antagonistic attitude against the Libyan people and against the Arab nation. So, therefore, instead of strengthening and deepening these interests, we find that the British government is hiding those people who have escaped from the Libyan people and have left the country having been engaged in embezzlement of the Libyan wealth'.

Moreover, he pointed out, 'We find that the British government is carrying out the American programme in Lebanon against the Arab nation, and in the Gulf'.

Relations between Britain and the Jamahiriya had to be normalised 'on an equal basis'. The students wanted Anglo-Libyan



Prime Minister Thatcher with Foreign Secretary Howe: the British government is carrying out the American programme in the Arab homeland

relations re-evaluated so that they should be 'equal and achieve the mutual interests of the two peoples'.

The press conference was chaired by Dr Omar Sodani, a member of the press and information section of the Bureau, who explained that he was presenting the views of the students although he was not part of the group which had taken over the Bureau. Dr Sodani said, 'In the view of the General People's Congress, Western governments have been frustrating the aims and wishes of the Arab nation in all aspects.' He stressed that the Multi-National Force in Lebanon was comprised of NATO forces, and added, 'We don't think any NATO country is neutral, in particular the United States, which is allied to Israel against the interests of the Arab nation.'

Dr Sodani accused the Western countries of 'harbouring enemies of the Libyan people, giving them support and the means to cause damage to our country'. These criminal exiles had not been successful in their plans, but he added, 'We don't expect to see countries which claim to be friends giving support to these people. Relations must be based on mutual respect, and we cannot see good relations developing under inequality.'

Asked if the changes heralded a break in relations with Britain, Dr Sodani replied, 'No, not at all. We believe in good relations between peoples of different nations, and are really keen to have good relations with the British people. But it is really up to the British government to have good relations with the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. Relations in the past were not balanced.'

Not only was Britain 'giving

refuge to Libyans who are criminals, condemned of specific crimes such as smuggling and theft, but Britain is going along with US policies in the Middle East and taking part in manoeuvres against the Jamahiriya and aligning herself with those who wish to see SPLAJ and the Al Fateh Revolution disappear.'

The Libyan people, Dr Sodani stressed, wanted relations with Britain based on 'equality and mutual respect'.

## Revolutionary committees formed in Poland and Bulgaria

UNDER THE *jamahiri* system of direct democracy, the Libyan people determine their local and national policies through a country-wide network of congresses, open to all citizens. Parallel to the people's congresses is a Movement of Revolutionary Committees. These are charged with propagating the ideals of the Al Fateh Revolution, but have no executive powers. In the Jamahiriya, decision-making powers are held solely by the people as a whole, and not by any elite group.

Libyan citizens overseas have also organised themselves into people's congresses and revolutionary committees, and on 26th January the Jamahiriya news agency JANA announced that Libyan students in Bulgaria have formed a revolutionary committee. Four days later, JANA disclosed that a similar committee had been established by students in Poland.

## New Islamic ties with Malaysia

TIES BETWEEN the Libyan Jamahiriya and Malaysia will be strengthened by a cultural co-operation agreement signed in Tripoli by Malaysia's Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports, Mr Anwar Ibrahim.

The draft agreement was initialled at a ceremony on 24th January, attended on the Libyan side by Dr Muhammad Ahmad al Sharif, Secretary of the Tripoli-based Islamic Call Society, an Islamic missionary organisation, and by Mr Ibrahim Ibrahim Khuwaydir, the Secretary of Jamahiri Sports. It calls for a general strengthening of cultural ties between the two peoples, and in particular for stronger links between the Islamic Call Society and Malaysia's Islamic University. The Jamahiriya will provide assistance for the establishment of Islamic centres in the Malaysian states of Sabah and Sarawak, and the two countries will launch a joint programme of youth activities. Tripoli will also establish special scholarships to enable Malaysians to study at Islamic colleges and institutes in the Jamahiriya.

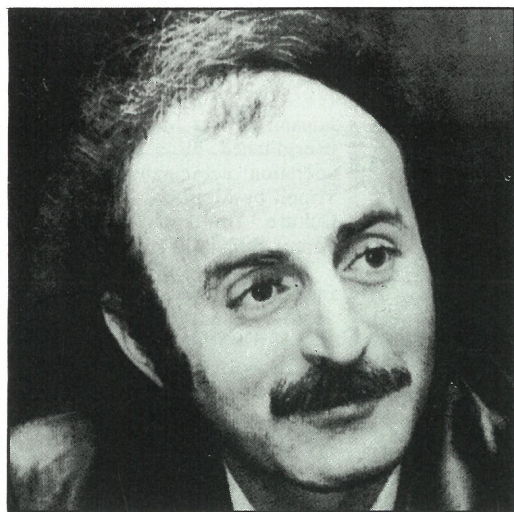
Earlier in his visit to Libya, the Malaysian Minister conferred with revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi, and with Mr Abdel Hafez az Zulaiyini, the Jamahiriya's Secretary for Education.

## Exhibitions signal continued co-operation

A MAJOR exhibition of rare Libyan and Tunisian historic and religious manuscripts has been staged in Tripoli, highlighting the continued commitment of the Jamahiriya and its western neighbour to their merger project. Organised by the Tunisian Cultural Centre in the Libyan capital, in co-operation with the Tunisian Publishing House, the ten-day exhibition opened on 31st January, and attracted hundreds of visitors. An exhibition of history books published in Tunis and Tripoli was staged to coincide with the manuscript display.

In 1982 Libya and Tunisia embarked on a unification project, in which the first step would be the harmonisation of their domestic and foreign policies through joint meetings of decision-making bodies. A landmark in the process came last July, when a joint meeting in Tripoli of the Tunisian cabinet and the General People's Committee approved a comprehensive co-operation programme which centred on economic





Walid Jumblatt (left) conferred in Tripoli with Staff Major Jalloud



and cultural collaboration. The Jamahiriya is engaged in similar unionist projects with Algeria, Morocco and Mauritania. The hope is that joint policies will lead to union between the Arab countries of north west Africa, and that this in turn will be the prelude to wider Arab unity.

In January, hostile elements attempted to exploit unrest sweeping Tunisia to undermine the Tunisia-Libya unity project. A group of saboteurs damaged an oil pipeline in Tunisian territory near the frontier with the Jamahiriya in the hope that Tunis would place the blame on Tripoli. The plot failed, with Tunisia accepting Libyan assurances that the Jamahiriya was in no way implicated.

Early last month, following the restoration of normal conditions in Tunisia, Libya's Foreign Liaison Secretary Abdel Ati al Ubeidi conferred in Tunis with senior government officials in what was seen as an effort to ensure uninterrupted progress on the merger scheme. Mr Ubeidi held talks with Prime Minister Muhammad M'Zali, who is also Interior Minister, and with Foreign Minister Beji Caid Essebsi, and during his visit the Libyan Secretary conveyed greetings from Muammer Qadhafi to Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba.

## Libya a growing centre for pan-Arab sports

THE VIGOROUS role played by the Jamahiriya in pan-Arab politics and economic development is mirrored by Tripoli's increasingly active involvement in regional cultural and sporting events, and this was underlined on 23rd February when this year's Arab Cross Country Championships opened in Libya.

Last November, the General

Assembly of the Arab Weightlifters Federation resolved that the first ever pan-Arab weightlifting championship for boys will be staged in Benghazi next August. The Assembly also agreed on Libya as the venue for the Sixth Championship for Adults, to be held next September.

## Mexican naval personnel tour projects

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya has been hosting a visit by teachers and students from the Mexican Naval College, the Jamahiriya news agency JANA announced on 9th February, adding that as part of their programme the visitors had inspected a series of agricultural development schemes in the Jebel Akhdar region of north east Libya.

At the end of their visit, said JANA, the delegation's leader declared that the Mexicans had found the Jamahiriya to be 'totally different from what we had heard and expected', and he added that they had been particularly impressed by the socio-economic development schemes which they had toured.

## Lecturers discuss town planning courses

TRIPOLI'S Al Fateh University has hosted a three-day symposium attended by lecturers in architecture and town planning from Faculties of Engineering in Arab universities. The conference focussed on ways of improving syllabi and teaching methods so as to ensure their relevance to current needs.

The symposium was opened on 6th February at a ceremony

attended by Mr Muhammad Ubayd ash Shukri, the Jamahiriya's Utilities Secretary, and by Mr Abdel Hafez as Zulaytini, Secretary for Education.

## Tripoli twins with Managua

THE LIBYAN capital, Tripoli, has formally twinned with Managua, capital city of the central American Republic of Nicaragua, in a move designed to bolster mutual solidarity between two countries which are priority targets for US provocations and aggressions.

The twinning agreement was concluded at a meeting in Tripoli on 31st January between Mr Muhammad Ubayd ash Shukri, Secretary of Utilities, and Mr Samel Santus Lieez, Chairman of Managua Municipality. The Jamahiriya news agency JANA said that the twinning agreement called for 'regular debates on issues related to the two cities, cultural, artistic and sporting events, and exhibitions showing the achievements of the two cities'. A joint committee was set up to follow up the co-operation programme.

The twinning came during a visit to Tripoli by a delegation from the International Federation of Twin Cities (IFTC), which included the Mayors of Berne, Rabat, Managua, Barcelona, Dakar, Torino and Nicosia, and the Adviser to the Secretary of the Federation of African Twinned Cities. On 1st February JANA disclosed that a meeting between the People's Committee of Tripoli Municipality and the delegation had ended with the Libyan capital joining the International Federation.

Under the affiliation agreement, Tripoli will be provided with reports on the various activities of the Federation, including details of its programme for Mediterranean cities, and the Federation will also

help to establish a solar energy research centre in Libya.

During its visit to the Jamahiriya, the IFTC delegation was received by revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi.

## Druze and Palestinians discuss strategy

AS THE Lebanese situation deteriorated, prior to its eruption into full scale war in which the US and other NATO forces in Beirut were forced to seek refuge in their warships off the coast, Libyan revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi conferred in Tripoli with some of the key nationalist groups in Lebanon.

On 26th January Colonel Qadhafi began a series of intensive talks with Abu Salih, Abu Musa, Samih Kuwayk, Abu Khalid al Amlah and Abu Ali al Mahdi, all leading members of the New Revolutionary Movement in the Fatah Palestinian resistance organisation. Also present was Talal Naji, Assistant Secretary of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine - General Command, who is also a member of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Later, on 30th January, the discussions were joined by Mr Walid Jumblatt, the leader of Lebanon's Muslim Druze community, who have borne the brunt of US military aggression in Lebanon over the past year. While in Tripoli, Mr Jumblatt also conferred with Staff Major Abdesalam Jalloud.

The Libyan Jamahiriya has consistently supported nationalist and Islamic Lebanese and Palestinian groups in their struggle to thwart US and Israeli designs on Lebanon.

## Condolences on Andropov's death

LIBYAN LEADER Muammer Qadhafi on 12th February visited the Soviet Embassy in Tripoli to offer his condolences on the death of President Yuri Andropov. Colonel Qadhafi registered a message affirming the Libyan people's 'sadness because we have lost another of our dear friends', and offering 'deepest condolences to our Soviet friends'. On this 'sad occasion', the message continued, 'we affirm our determination to continue building the strategic friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union in all fields'.

President Andropov died on 11th February. He has been succeeded as Soviet leader by Konstantin Chernenko.

**THE LIBYAN General People's Congress has met in Tripoli to approve a comprehensive set of policies which will guide the Jamahiriya in the coming year. Debates at the GPC focussed on the need for continued financial caution at home, and for firm and principled stands in Arab and international affairs. All Azziz reviews the Libyan people's action programme for 1984.**

DEVELOPMENTS in the Arab homeland, and the continuing need for economies in the face of the world oil glut, dominated the discussions at the Ninth Ordinary Session of the General People's Congress held in Tripoli from 11th-16th February. The congress agreed to continue policies of financial restraint at home and abroad, with particular attention to a further redeployment of administrative personnel into directly productive sectors. Major Arab and foreign affairs decisions included resolutions to institute a total economic and political boycott of the United States, and to withdraw recognition of Yasser Arafat as a *bona fide* Palestinian leader, following his recent meeting with

## Fianna Fail Leader attends GPC

AMONGST THE foreign politicians attending the General People's Congress (GPC) as observers was Mr Charles Haughey, the Leader of Ireland's Fianna Fail Party and a former Dublin Prime Minister. During his two-day visit to the Jamahiriya Mr Haughey also conferred with Muammer Qadhafi and with Foreign Liaison Secretary Abdel Ati al Ubeidi on ways of bolstering relations between Libya and Ireland.

Prior to his departure, Mr Haughey told the Irish Times: 'It will be generally a trade visit', but that his trip would also be aimed at keeping abreast of political developments in North Africa.

International oil corporations are showing increasing interest in exploring for oil in the Irish Republic, and Mr Haughey said that he would be examining the way in which the Libyans had handled negotiations with multinational companies. Following the Al Fateh Revolution in 1969, Tripoli moved forcefully to



Agreement to challenge US intervention in the Arab homeland

## Facing the double challenge

Egyptian President Husni Mubarak.

Over the past two years, the Jamahiriya's oil income has been reduced by falling prices and slack demand stemming from the international oil glut. In response, the GPC resolved last year to freeze all new development schemes, except those considered to be of 'strategic' importance. This year, the GPC recorded its 'appreciation of the progress attained on development plan projects, despite the conditions arising as the result of the world economic crisis', and it affirmed the 'need for further efforts in this regard for the implementation of the remaining projects'.

Despite the climate of austerity, however, the GPC approved a draft development budget for 1984 totalling LD2.110 billion - only slightly down on last year's budget of LD2.37 billion. The largest allo-

cations go to industry and agriculture, reflecting the overall priorities of the 1981-85 development plan. In addition, congress approved a 1984 administrative budget of LD1.44 billion. A limit of LD1.668 billion was imposed on imports for 1984, and it was stipulated that goods should be purchased abroad only where they were not produced locally.

In another move to balance the Jamahiriya's books, congress resolved to formulate measures to ensure that 'the monthly outflow of foreign currency shall not exceed inflows', adding that 'no excess shall be allowed for any month except within the limits of surpluses from the immediately preceding month'.

## Productive sectors

At last year's meeting of the GPC it was resolved to streamline the Libyan civil service so as to make it more efficient. The number of civil servants was to be reduced, with surplus staff being redeployed in more directly productive sectors. This year, congress renewed its call for a 're-organisation of the administrative apparatus', and for continued efforts to 'reduce the number of people employed in the civil service'. Staff who are shed will be 'directed towards work at production centres'. It was resolved to establish programmes in every Libyan municipality 'to train people who are made redundant by the civil service, so that they may acquire specific trades in a specified period of time'.

In a further bid to reduce civil service expenditure, the GPC resolved to reduce the number of people's bureaux overseas, and the number of people working in them. It was also decided to merge a number of municipalities, thereby cutting the overall costs of local administration in the Jamahiriya.

Congress affirmed that 'the administrative budget shall not be burdened with any new commitments of any kind whatsoever'.

Continued on page 12



# Defence through Arab unity

DIVISIONS WITHIN the Arab homeland are offering Israel and the United States major opportunities for intervention, and the only effective answer is comprehensive Arab unity, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Arabian Gulf. The Jamahiriya remains determined to work for such unity, despite the lukewarm response of Arab governments. This was the key message of revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi, in an address to the General People's Congress (GPC), on 15th February, in which he also presented a forceful analysis of the nature of the threat posed by Tel Aviv and Washington.

It had been a desire to counter 'Arab fragmentation' which had prompted his visits to a series of Arab countries over the past year, Muammer Qadhafi revealed. The countries visited had widely contrasting political perspectives, but all faced the same threat because the Zionists did not distinguish between 'progressive' and 'reactionary' Arabs. Israel, backed by the United States, was 'intent on liquidating us all, country by country, regardless of our politics'.

At present, he told the Arab governments, 'the battle is for water resources' - in Lebanon and in the occupied West Bank region of Palestine. 'The second step in the Zionists' plan, however, will be to seize the oilfields of Iran, the Arabian peninsula, Libya and Algeria'. Israel would launch this second phase of its plans for regional domination 'on US instructions and in full collaboration with Washington'. The Americans would then 'turn their backs on those Arabs who now kneel before them'.

**IN A major address to the General People's Congress, revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi stressed the urgent need for the Arab countries to pool their resources to face the common threat posed by the United States and Israel. The Jamahiriya, he insisted, would remain faithful to the cause of Arab unity, regardless of the attitude of Arab governments. A special correspondent reports on Colonel Qadhafi's message.**

The only effective response was for the Arabs to unite against their common enemies. The prospects for Arab unity, however, were not bright. Arab governments 'no longer talk about unity,' declared Muammer Qadhafi. 'It has reached a point where one cannot realistically even be sure that there is a single Arab nation'. Regional fragmentation had

reached a stage where there was now 'a series of nations - the Maronite nation, the Sudanese nation, the Algerian and Moroccan nations'. The talk in Arab capitals now, he continued, was 'not about Arab unity, but about whether we ever were one nation'.

The present Arab regimes, he said, were simply not interested in unity. Nevertheless, 'we must deal with them, if only to emphasise the necessity of unity'.

Arab governments have frequently tried to delay unity by claiming that unionist schemes must proceed in stages, with careful preparation going into each. Over the past two years, the Jamahiriya has effectively called their bluff by launching unionist projects which explicitly rule out the immediate creation of single political and territorial entities. Instead, Tripoli has argued that unity should come step by step, and that the first move should be the forging of common internal and foreign policies through joint meetings of decision-making bodies.

Already the Jamahiriya has entered such bilateral schemes with Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, entailing joint meetings between the Libyan General People's Committee and the cabinets of these countries. Eventually, said Colonel Qadhafi, such meetings might be staged with other Arab countries, and 'one executive committee for the whole Arab homeland might then emerge'. In the same way, the Libyan General People's Congress could hold joint sessions with parliaments in the Arab region, leading to the emergence of 'one Arab national congress'.

'I have agreed to proceed with Arab unity, provided that it is carried out in stages', Muammer Qadhafi told the GPC, and 'should this process fail, then the regionalists will have lost their last card'. Such a failure, he warned, would mean a return to 'revolutionary work', in which the Jamahiriya would place renewed emphasis on unionist links at the popular, non-governmental, level.

## Military conscription to continue

LIBYA'S REVOLUTIONARY leadership has consistently advocated the replacement of the country's regular military forces with a defensive system termed the 'armed people', in which all citizens, both men and women, would receive military training and play a direct role in defence. As part of the moves towards the establishment of the armed people, the Jamahiriya has instituted military training for girls - a controversial step in a country where traditional attitudes on the role of women remain strong, despite the liberating efforts of the Al Fateh Revolution.

The Secretariat of the General People's Congress had submitted to the Basic People's Congresses (BPCs) a series of draft laws on the creation of the armed people, but it emerged at last month's ses-

sion of the GPC that these had been decisively rejected, in favour of a continuation of the existing system of military conscription.

Addressing the GPC on 15th February, Muammer Qadhafi was obviously disappointed at the development, although he readily acknowledged that it was a matter for the Libyan people to decide, not for himself. 'The draft law for an armed people has suffered a heavy defeat,' he said. 'The BPCs rejected the creation of an armed people, preferring the status quo, that is, conscription. This law therefore cannot be issued. There will not be an armed people, but instead armed men.'

The decision, he continued, 'necessitates an end to the programme of military training in all girls' schools and insti-

tutes. On 1st March I shall issue a order to the armed forces to cease military training in girls' schools and institutes, and to make facilities available for the training of young men. Women will be excluded from military service'.

He added: 'You are free. I cannot issue a law for an armed people when you have decided that women must not be trained'.

Nevertheless, Muammer Qadhafi urged the GPC not to overlook the serious military threat posed to the Libyan people by the United States. 'If you are unwilling to establish the armed people, then you must prepare a mighty military force capable of deterring America,' he insisted. 'You must be able, either with the air force or with missiles, to destroy the Sixth Fleet, or at least to inflict crippling damage on it'.



# The Jamahiriya's new administration

WHEN THE General People's Congress met in February last year, no changes were made in the structure or personnel of the General People's Committee or in the Secretariat of the General People's Congress. This year's Ninth Ordinary Session of the Libyan legislature, however, agreed important changes, aimed at improving the efficiency of the country's administration and bringing it more into line with current requirements

THE GENERAL People's Congress, meeting for its Ninth Ordinary Session in Tripoli last month, approved a series of important changes in the Jamahiriya's administration. New Secretariats were created for Universities and for External Security, and the Secretariats for Housing and Utilities were merged. The Jamahiriya now has nineteen Secretariats - one more than before. There were also personnel changes in the General People's Committee and in the Secretariat of the General People's Congress.

**Changes in the General People's Committee:**  
**Secretary General:** Moving from his post as Secretary General of the Secretariat of the General People's Congress, Muhammad az

Zarruq Rajab takes over as Secretary General of the General People's Committee from Jadallah Azourz Talhi.  
**Foreign Liaison:** Dr Ali Abdesalam Treiki, Libya's Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York, becomes Secretary of the Foreign Liaison Bureau, replacing Abdel Ati al Ubeidi. The Bureau has in recent months come under increasing criticism for a lack of energy and a lack of accountability to the Libyan people. Until May last year the Bureau functioned without the supervision of a People's Committee, and this was seen as a major reason for the deficiencies. In May, a committee was created, but during their debates last December, the Basic People's Congresses (BPCs) pointed to the Bureau's failure to

circulate to BPCs, through the Secretariat of the General People's Congress, reports on international developments.  
Dr Treiki is one of Libya's most experienced statesmen. Before taking up his post at the UN (where he doubled as the Jamahiriya's Ambassador to Canada), he was Secretary of the Bureau for Liaison for Foreign Affairs, where he oversaw the development of Tripoli's contacts with governments overseas. This Bureau was wound-up at the March 1982 meeting of the General People's Congress, when it was decided that all Libya's foreign affairs should become the responsibility of the Foreign Liaison Bureau (FLB). Previously, the FLB had restricted itself to the administration of the Jamahiriya's relations

## Secretariat of the General People's Congress

Secretary General	Dr Miftah al Usta Umar	Secretary for People's Committee Affairs	Muhammad Mahmud Hijazi
Assistant Secretary	Ali Uthman Bilkhbair	Secretary for Trade Unions, Federations and Professional Associations Affairs	Fayturi Ad Dali
General Secretary for People's Congresses Affairs	Umar Ishkal		

## General People's Committee

Secretary General Muhammad az Zarruq Rajab

## Secretaries of General People's Committees

Energy	Abdel Majid al Qu'ud	Treasury	Muhammad Qasim Sharlalah
Electricity	Juma'a al Arbush	Planning	Fawzi ash Shakshuki
Agrarian Reform and Land Reclamation	Abu Zayd Umar Durda	Utilities and Housing	Muhammad Ubayd ash Shukri
Economy and Light Industry	Musa Abu Freiwa	Petroleum	Kamal Hassan al Maqhur
Heavy Industry	Omar al Muntassir	Justice	Miftah Ku'aybah
Civil Service	Muhammad Abdullah al Mabruk	Bureau for Foreign Liaison	Dr Ali Abdesalam Treiki
Social Security	Ibrahim al Faqi Hassan	Universities	Dr Yusuf Hamid ash Shin
Education	Dr Abdel Hafiz az Zulaytini	Communications and Marine Transport	Mubarak ash Shamikh
Health	Dr Murad Ali Lanqi	Sports	Muhammad Abu Bakr Uqaylah
		External Security	Col Yunis Bilqasim Ali



▶ with foreign peoples at a non-government level.

**Justice:** Miftah Ku'aybah, who until March 1982 was the Jamahiriya's Secretary for Sports, becomes Justice Secretary, replacing Muhammad Abu al Qasim az Zuwayy. Since March 1982, Mr Ku'aybah has been a member of the General People's Committee for Agrarian Reform and Land Reclamation.

**Communications and Marine Transport:** Engineer Mubarak ash Shamikh replaces al Bukhari Salim Hudah as Secretary.

**Sports:** Muhammad Abu Bakr Uqaylah becomes Secretary, replacing Ibrahim Ibrahim Khuwaydir.

**Utilities and Housing:** The Secretariat for Housing is merged with the Utilities Secretariat, with the former Utilities Secretary Muhammad Ubayd ash Shukri as Secretary of the combined Secretariat.

**Universities:** Recent years have seen a dramatic expansion of the Jamahiriya's higher education system, aimed at meeting the country's growing demand for skilled managers and technicians, and the creation of a new Secretariat for Universities, with Dr Yusuf Hamid ash Shin as Secretary, reflects the Jamahiriya's continuing commitment to increasing the educational opportunities available to the Libyan people.

**External Security:** The Jamahiriya has been moving to establish the 'armed people' - a defensive system in which each citizen, regardless of sex, would receive training on a full range of modern weaponry, and would play a direct personal role in Libyan and Arab defence. This year, however, the General People's Congress resolved to halt military training for women, and to retain Libya's existing defence system, based on regular military forces. Congress approved a new Secretariat for External Security, headed by Colonel Yunis Bilqasim Ali.

#### Changes in the Secretariat of the General People's Congress:

**Secretary General:** Miftah al Usta Umar becomes Secretary General, replacing Muhammad az Zarruq Rajab, who becomes Secretary of the General People's Committee. Mr Umar was Secretary of the Jamahiriya's Bureau for Internal Liaison until the Bureau was dissolved in March 1982. The Bureau had been established in 1981 with responsibility for co-ordinating the affairs of all the people's congresses and committees within the Jamahiriya.

**Secretary for People's Congress Affairs:** Umar Ishkal replaces Muhammad Ali Ba'wash.

**Secretary for People's Committee Affairs:** Muhammad Hejazi takes over from Abdullah Zahmul. Mr Hejazi was Utilities Secretary until March 1982, when he became a member of the General People's Committee for Agrarian Reform and Land Reclamation.

**Secretary for Trade Union, Federation and Professional Association Affairs:** Fayturi ad Dali replaces Mukhtar Qarba.

## Facing the double challenge

Continued from page 9

In the past, Libya's major public services, such as electricity supply, have been administered directly by departments within the country's Secretariats, with the employees receiving a salary. This system has contrasted with the socialist structures applied in manufacturing and agricultural enterprises, in which workers are rewarded for their efforts directly, by sharing in profits. Addressing a women's meeting in Tripoli on 22nd December, Muammer Qadhafi suggested that there might be scope for introducing this system in the utilities, declaring: 'These establishments could be transformed into companies, with customers paying for the various services provided'. Such a step, he added, would encourage 'the people working in the electricity, housing and communications firms to work more energetically', since they would have a direct stake in the success of the enterprise. Moreover, it would ease pressure on the Jamahiriya's finances.

#### Socialist services

One of the key decisions of the GPC last month was to introduce 'socialist services' in Libya's posts and telecommunications sectors, in the electricity and water supply industries, in housing, in the environmental protection services, at the Tripoli International Airport, at the country's commercial ports and in the radio and television establishments.

Other major decisions on internal affairs included a resolution to set up a people's committee at the Secretariat of Heavy Industry, and to establish a new Secretariat for External Security (see page 11). The GPC also approved the 'reformulation of the armed people's law, and its resubmission in its new form to the Basic People's Congresses for endorsement at their First Ordinary Session of 1984' (see page 19).

The Arab and international affairs debates at congress were overshadowed by concern at developments in Lebanon and within the Palestinian resistance movement. Congress reaffirmed the Jamahiriya's unwavering support for the Lebanese leftists and Muslims, and its 'support for Syria, morally and materially'. It was resolved not to recognise the Phalangist regime of Amin Gemayel in Beirut, and to reject the regime's 17th May 1983 troops withdrawal agreement with Tel Aviv, which allows the Zionists a continued presence in south Lebanon.

Full support was affirmed for the New Revolutionary Movement within the Fatah Palestinian resistance organisation, and congress firmly condemned last December's meeting in Cairo between Yasser Arafat and Egyptian President Husni Mubarak. The GPC called on the

Arab People's Congress (which groups Arab nationalist individuals and non-governmental organisations) to 'subject Arafat to an Arab trial, since he is considered a traitor to the Arab cause'. The Jamahiriya will work to secure a withdrawal of Arab recognition of Arafat as the Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, and all Palestinian groups which regard Arafat as their leader will receive no further support from Tripoli.

Congress reaffirmed the vital need for Arab unity, and endorsed the Jamahiriya's efforts to forge unity between the Arab countries of north west Africa, as a step towards comprehensive regional unity.

#### Concern

The Libyan Jamahiriya has viewed with grave concern the Zionists' campaign to re-establish a presence in the African continent, from which they were ejected following the 1973 Arab-Israeli war. In the past year, Tel Aviv has managed to restore diplomatic relations with Zaire and Liberia, and is attempting to penetrate other countries. Congress resolved to freeze relations with Liberia and Zaire and, in co-ordination with the Organisation of African Unity, to bring pressure on them to reconsider their links with Tel Aviv. Libya will also seek the restitution of its investments in development institutions in the two countries. A joint programme will be formulated with Arab countries for 'an effective Arab campaign in Africa to convince African states not to restore relations with the Zionists, and to elucidate the parallels and links between the Zionists and the apartheid regime in South Africa'.

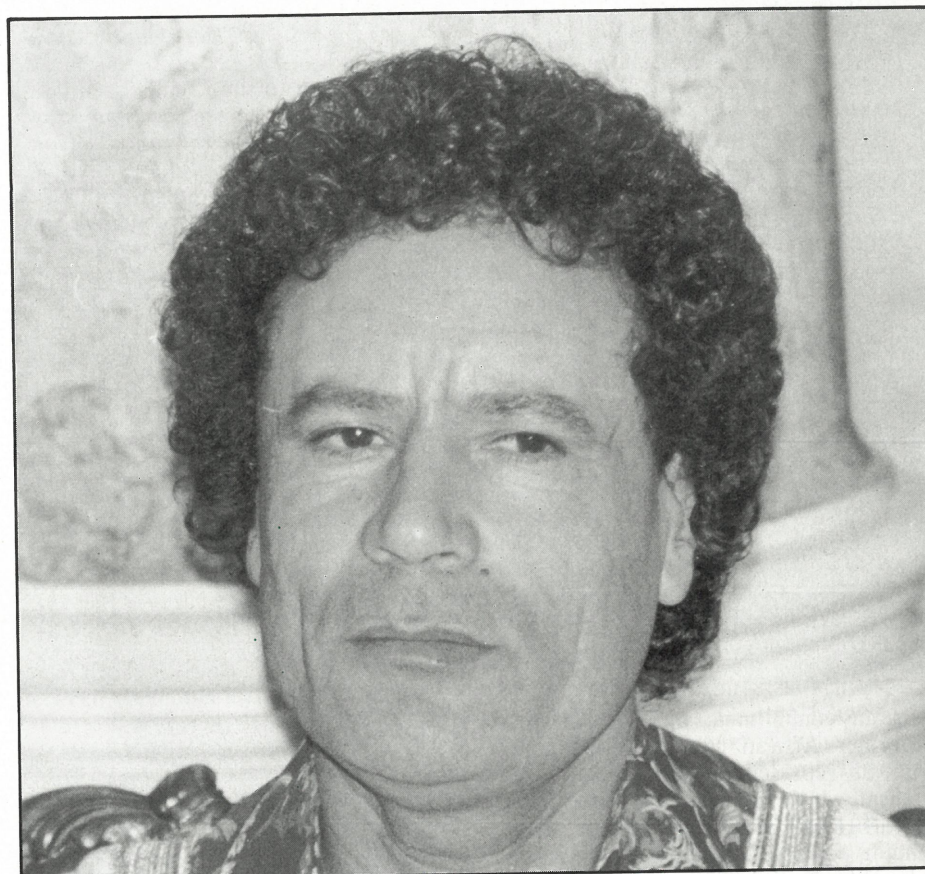
In response to the Reagan administration's efforts to destabilise the Jamahiriya and sabotage its development programme, congress resolved to 'boycott America in all economic and political fields'. In a bid to contain potential conflicts with Paris over French intervention in Chad and Lebanon, the GPC resolved to 'enter a dialogue with France and to exert pressure on it' to modify its policies. The Jamahiriya will also 'reconsider its existing relations with the countries of western Europe'. To balance the West's general hostility to the Libyan people, congress resolved 'to consolidate relations with the countries of the socialist community'.

In a move aimed at increasing the Jamahiriya's independence from overseas suppliers, the GPC decided to 'concentrate on the development of local armaments industries', and to 'diversify the source of weapons'.

Tripoli feels directly threatened by American plans to install Cruise missiles at the Comiso base in Sicily, and the GPC 'condemned the Italian government for accepting the deployment, which poses a threat to the safety of the Jamahiriya'. It was resolved to launch an information campaign in those countries which have nuclear missile bases, aimed at alerting Europeans to the threat posed to their security.

## Libya acts to ease tension

**THE JAMAHIRIYA'S relations with France have been strained since French forces intervened in the Chadian civil war last year to prop up the illegal regime of Hissene Habre. At the same time, Libya's links with Italy have been affected by Rome's delay in meeting demands for war reparations, in compensation for the Italian colonial occupation of Libya. Last month, Tripoli moved to ease tensions by hosting visits by the Italian and French Foreign Ministers.**



IN A bid to ease tensions with France and Italy, Libyan revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi last month hosted separate meetings in Tripoli with the Foreign Ministers of the two European countries. Discussions centred on the recent escalation of French intervention in the Chadian civil war, and on the Libyan people's demand for war reparations from Italy. The outcome of the talks was revealed by Colonel Qadhafi in a specially convened press conference in the Libyan capital, Tripoli.

French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson's visit to the Jamahiriya came as part of a tour which also included Ethiopia and the Chadian capital N'Djamena. In January, following a series of successful operations by the forces of Chad's legitimate Government of Unity and National Transition (GUNT), Paris bolstered its military assistance to the illegal regime of Hissene Habre, and ordered French troops to advance northwards into territory liberated by GUNT. To counter this French aggression, GUNT's President Goukouni Oueddei appealed to the Jamahiriya for military assistance. M Cheysson's tour came amidst fears of a direct confrontation between French and Libyan forces.

M Cheysson held two hours of intensive talks with Colonel Qadhafi on 5th February, and he later conferred with Staff Major Abdesalam Jalloud. At a press con-

ference the following day, Muammer Qadhafi indicated that Libya too had no interest in a direct military clash with France, affirming that such a development would merely serve the ambitions of the Habre regime. It was agreed, he averred, by 'all the African and other parties, that Hissene Habre is sacrificing peace and stability for the sake of personal power. He is also striving fervently to sabotage friendship between France and Libya. Habre wants to drag Libya and France into a confrontation to serve his own personal ambitions, at the price of French interests in the Jamahiriya'. Colonel Qadhafi expressed a conviction

that the French people had been misinformed on the nature of the regime which their forces were propping up in N'Djamena. 'The French people should be made aware of Habre's true nature', he declared, describing him as 'a murderer of the worst kind'.

On the wider issue of foreign interference in Africa, Muammer Qadhafi insisted: 'As a matter of principle, we do not accept that any force from outside the continent has any legitimate rights in Africa.' Stressing the Jamahiriya's commitment to the complete liberation of Africa from foreign rule, 'inch by inch', he added: 'We do not rec-

### Intruders released

*THE VISIT to the Jamahiriya by Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti coincided with the release of two Italian tourists, Mr Oreste Bari and his mother, who had been held since the end of November after they had sailed their yacht into the north eastern port of Derna to obtain fuel and food. The tourists were arrested on suspicion of involvement in illegal activities.*

*Thorough investigation by the Libyan authorities, however, revealed that the two Italians were innocent, and they were released on 4th February at a special*

*ceremony attended by the Secretaries of Tripoli's People's Committees for Utilities and Justice, by Mr Diego Ngali, the Mayor of Torino, and by an Italian Government representative.*

*In an address, the Tripoli Utilities Secretary affirmed that the tourists' release 'confirms that we are not terrorists, as the imperialists allege', and he added: 'We in the Jamahiriya affirm the sincerity of our relations with the Italian people, and hope that this occasion will mark the beginning of an era of co-operation, dominated by a climate of mutual amity and understanding.'*



## Qadhafi spells out the priorities

*FOLLOWING HIS press conference in Tripoli on 6th February, Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi granted special interviews to France Inter radio, French Television's Channel 1, and Agence France Presse, in which he clarified the Jamahiriya's stands on a series of major international issues in an effort to provide the French people with an accurate picture of Libyan policies. Highlights of Colonel Qadhafi's interviews included:*

*On French intervention in Chad: Libya sees the French troops as being an occupying force, and the Chadian people therefore have every right to take up arms to liberate their country. Paris has chosen to intervene directly in the Chadian civil war, and Tripoli 'cannot advise the forces of the legitimate Government (headed by President Goukouni Oueddei) to halt their campaign against the French'.*

*On the recent northwards advances of the French front line in Chad: This would lead to a direct confrontation between Goukouni Oueddei and the French forces. It does not concern us, as Libyans, but Goukouni Oueddei's forces are now*

*in a position where they have to fight the French forces, or any other forces, who try to approach (the northern Chadian towns of) Koro Koro and Oum Chalouba.*

*On a solution to the Chadian conflict: 'We would welcome the participation of all parties - Libyan, French and Chadian - in trying to solve the conflict.' The failure of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to convene a peace conference in Addis Ababa in January 'does not mean that the OAU is impotent. It merely demonstrates Hissene Habre's refusal to negotiate a solution.' The conference failed because Habre had refused to attend, and this sabotage of the OAU's peace efforts was possible only because of the French forces shoring up Habre's illegal regime.*

*On Egypt's invitation to rejoin the Islamic Conference Organisation: January's Islamic Summit in Casablanca attached a series of conditions to the invitation, including a requirement that the Cairo regime abrogates the US-sponsored Camp David accords before*

*rejoining the ICO. Camp David entailed an Egyptian sell-out of Palestinian and Arab national rights in exchange for a peace treaty with the Zionist state. The Zionists, however, have no intention of negotiating a settlement of the conflict. Their colonisation programmes in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip regions indicated clearly that Israel has no intention whatsoever of making any territorial concessions in Palestine.*

*On Libyan involvement in 'terrorism': Washington and Tel Aviv are the principal sources for the western media's repeated allegations of Libyan complicity in terrorism. In Europe, however, both 'peoples and governments are aware that the real terrorists are the Americans, with their naval fleets and nuclear missiles. If defending freedom is terrorism, then let us be terrorists'.*

*On the peace movement: 'We support all those groups in Europe and America which demand peace. We are opposed to nuclear weapons, and we stand together with all those who take the same view'.*



Italy's Giulio Andreotti

recognise any commitments by France towards its former African colonies. Such commitments represent a new form of colonialism, which we must resist.'

Reaffirming the Jamahiriya's long-standing position on the Chadian conflict, Colonel Qadhafi declared: 'Libya supports the legitimate Government of Unity and National Transition, which represents the overwhelming majority of Chadians.' He also reiterated Libya's concern that the Chadian conflict is being deliberately fanned by western powers in a bid to establish a military presence along Libya's frontiers from which to threaten the independence and territorial integrity of the Jamahiriya. 'Libya's security is directly linked to Chad's security,' he declared. 'As for France, its security and its borders bear no relation to those of Chad.'

Muammar Qadhafi concluded by insisting that there was nonetheless a measure of agreement on Chad between Tripoli and Paris. The meeting with M Cheysson 'had positive results', he said, explaining: 'We are agreed upon a goal, although we did not find the appropriate means to attain that goal.'

There were also strong indications in Paris that M Cheysson's talks in Tripoli had been fruitful. On 7th February the *Guardian* disclosed: 'France is planning a new series of diplomatic contacts with Libya' and with Chadian factions. The paper also confirmed that even the French are growing weary of the obduracy of their puppet in N'Djamena, referring to a 'feeling here that the French have become impatient with Mr Habre, whose failure to attend peace talks in Addis Ababa last month contributed to the latest tension in Chad.'

### Reparations

The question of war repatriation lay at the heart of Muammar Qadhafi's consultations with the Italian Foreign Minister, Giulio Andreotti, who visited the Jamahiriya at the head of a delegation which included Foreign Trade Minister Nicola Capria. On 5th February, at the end of his two-day visit, Mr Andreotti told the Jamahiriya news agency JANA that he had exchanged views with the Libyan leader 'in all frankness and depth', and added: 'We specified areas for co-operation so as further to strengthen relations between our two peoples.' A closer relationship, he said, would allow them 'to participate in enhancing peace in the Mediterranean.'

Last October, the Jamahiriya renewed its long-standing campaign to secure war reparations from Italy, in compensation for the Italian occupation of Libya which

extended from 1911 until the Second World War. The Italian invasion sparked a determined war of resistance by the Libyan people. Rome responded with extreme savagery, butchering hundreds of thousands of innocent Libyans. It was because of the Italian occupation that Libya became embroiled in the Second World War, in which the Allied and Axis forces used the country as a major battlefield. Thousands of Libyans were killed or maimed in the crossfire, and there was colossal material destruction. Since the end of the fighting, hundreds more Libyans have been killed or wounded in accidental detonations of abandoned World War II munitions.

At his 6th February press conference, Muammar Qadhafi confirmed that 'relations between our two countries will not be normal until the question of reparations is resolved', and he warned that a perpetuation of the problem would mean that 'Italy's economic relations with us will suffer'. The Libyan revolutionary leader nevertheless disclosed that there was 'mutual understanding' on the subject, and that a solution 'was possible'. However, the whole issue 'requires further discussion, with Italy accepting its responsibility'.

Colonel Qadhafi stressed that the financial aspect of reparations was secondary. The moral issue was far more important. Moreover, payment by Italy of reparations to the Libyan people would help deter colonialist countries from future aggressions. 'It must be made clear to the Italian public, and to the world, that Libya seeks, through its demand for repatriations, to curb imperialist countries so that they will refrain in the future from launching wars of colonial aggrandisement,' he declared.

TRIPOLI IS firmly committed to Arab unity, and asserts that the countries of the region should co-ordinate their domestic and foreign policies as an essential first step. The recent convening in Rabat of a joint session of the Jamahiriya's General People's Committee and the Moroccan cabinet was a landmark in progress towards a union of the Arab countries of north west Africa, which itself will be a prelude to wider unity. A special correspondent reviews the outcome of the Rabat meeting.

OVER THE past two years the Libyan Jamahiriya has launched a series of major initiatives aimed at forging unity between the Arab countries of north west Africa - collectively known as the Arab Maghreb - and the latest sign of the progress being attained came in late January with a joint meeting in Rabat of the General People's Committee (GPC) and the Moroccan

cabinet, at which agreement was reached on a comprehensive economic and social co-operation programme.

The Al Fateh Revolution is firmly committed to Arab unity, but insists that unity can succeed only if it is carefully and thoroughly planned. Tripoli argues that an essential first step is the harmonisation of domestic and foreign policies, and that the most effective way of forging such 'unions of policies' is through joint meetings of decision making bodies. Already, joint meetings have been convened between the GPC and the Algerian and Tunisian cabinets, and in each case the outcome was a far-reaching and practical co-operation programme, with the emphasis on economic collaboration.

January's joint meeting of the GPC and the Moroccan cabinet had its origins in talks between Muammar Qadhafi and King Hassan in Rabat last July, when the two countries agreed to set aside past differences and inaugurate a new era of co-operation. A communiqué at the end of the Libyan leader's three-day visit to Morocco declared that the two countries had resolved to 'put an end to everything capable of harming relations, and to establish permanently fraternal relations'.

As a first step, a Libyan-Moroccan Joint Committee was set up, charged with reviewing the scope for bilateral co-operation, and

recommending practical unionist measures. Last August the Joint Committee met in Tripoli and agreed an important economic and trade co-operation accord, which was expressly designed to encourage 'economic integration within the context of efforts to build the greater Arab Maghreb, which would lead to comprehensive Arab unity'.

The process of economic and political integration between the Jamahiriya and Morocco has now been taken a step further. On 25th January the Libyan GPC arrived in Rabat for a joint session with the entire Moroccan cabinet. The significance of the talks was underlined by King Hassan in an address to the Libyan and Moroccan officials, in which he affirmed that the meeting was 'a foundation stone in the building of the Arab Maghreb'. Replying, Mr Jadallah Azourz Talhi, the GPC Secretary, confirmed that the Jamahiriya 'attaches special importance to co-operation between the two countries, through which the aspirations of the Libyan and Moroccan peoples will be achieved'.

The joint meeting of the Libyan GPC and the Moroccan cabinet was an unreserved success, and agreement was reached on a far-reaching economic and social co-operation programme (see inset report). In addition, seven specialised sub-committees were established to recommend further unionist measures.

## Co-operation programme stresses economic integration

*HIGHLIGHTS OF the Libyan-Moroccan co-operation accord included:*

□ Planning: Economic and social development plans will be co-ordinated at all levels.

□ Industry: Joint industrial schemes will be launched, and existing joint ventures will be expanded. Feasibility studies will be undertaken on a range of possible joint enterprises.

□ Agriculture: Resources and experience will be pooled in the fields of land reclamation, irrigation and dam construction. Joint action will be taken to check soil erosion, to expand livestock resources and to improve the quality of agricultural produce. The two countries will collaborate in the production of vaccines and medicines and in the development of their veterinary services. A feasibility study will be prepared on a joint Moroccan-Libyan fisheries company.

□ Trade: A list will be drawn up of commodities which will be exempt from all tariffs and duties in bilateral trade.

Each country's products will be given priority over those of third parties. The two countries will exhibit jointly in Arab and international trade fairs, and will stage special joint exhibitions to help boost their exports. A special bank will be set up to finance trade.

□ Transport and communications: New channels will be established for telephone and cable communications, and transport companies in the two countries will be encouraged to co-operate.

□ Construction: Technical co-operation will be boosted in engineering schemes, surveying, laboratories and public utilities. A study will be made of the scope for establishing a joint company for construction and maintenance.

□ Finance and investment: A joint credit company will be formed to operate in the fields of banking, agriculture and industry. Double taxation of Moroccan and Libyan citizens has been abolished.

□ Tourism: Joint tourist projects will be

launched, and efforts made to encourage bilateral tourist exchanges.

□ Oil: The Jamahiriya will step up its sales of petroleum to Morocco, and the two countries will expand co-operation in the exploration for, storage, and distribution of natural gas.

□ Education and culture: School curricula in the two countries will be standardised, and closer relations will be forged between Libyan and Moroccan educational, cultural and youth institutions. There will be greater exchanges of radio and television programmes, and the two countries will launch a programme to produce new programmes jointly. Cultural centres will be opened in each country, and there will be increased exchanges of expertise in the fields of archaeology and the conservation of historic cities.

□ Labour: The entry of Moroccan workers into the Jamahiriya will be encouraged, and the two countries will co-operate in the training of technicians and other skilled workers.





By early 1977 a country-wide network of BPCs had been established

## The age of the Jamahiriya

A NEW era in the history of democracy was inaugurated seven years ago this month, when a specially convened congress in the south west Libyan town of Sebha proclaimed the establishment of the Jamahiriya – Arabic for 'state of the masses'. Ever since, the system of direct democracy instituted at Sebha has been maintained and extended in Libya, and has attracted increasing worldwide interest.

The Sebha congress was a culmination of a process which began when the Al Fateh Revolution toppled the corrupt regime of King Idris on 1st 1969. Muammer Qadhafi and his fellow Free Unionist Officers did not stage the Revolution merely to achieve personal power – to replace one political elite with another. Rather, their objective was a fundamental shift in the balance of political power in Libya, away from the government and towards the people as a whole.

Shortly after the Revolution, the Arab Socialist Union (ASU) was formed, along the lines of the body of the same name established in Nasser's Egypt. The ASU was a country-wide organisation and was intended to provide a forum where the Libyan people could directly influence national and local policy-making. It was to be a channel between the government and the people. Because it was structured like a traditional political party, however, the ASU failed to live up to expectations. Instead of acting as servants of the people, ASU officials came to see themselves as being in some way superior, in the manner of petty bureaucrats the world over. The inevitable result was that Libyans shunned the ASU, which became a barrier between the people as a whole and their relationship.

The need for change was clear, and it came in a major speech by Muammer Qadhafi at the coastal town of Zuwara in early 1973, in which he urged students and workers to assume direct responsibility for their places of work and study, administering them through committees. Sub-

**SEVEN YEARS ago this month, Libyans celebrated the dawn of a new age of democracy, when the Jamahiriya – the state of the masses – was proclaimed by a special congress in the desert town of Sebha. Ali Aziz examines the thinking behind the Jamahiri system of direct democracy, and highlights the key principles of the Sebha Declaration.**

sequently, the system of people's committees was extended into other areas of Libyan economy and society, and by early 1977 a country-wide network of Basic People's Congresses (BPCs) had been established, open to all citizens in each locality. The essence of the new system was that there should be no professional politicians or bureaucrats to obstruct and distort the will of the people.

### Expanding

While the system of people's congresses and committees was expanding, however, the Libyan Arab Republic, as the country was then named, continued to be governed by a traditional cabinet, responsible to the Revolution Command Council (RCC) which the Free Unionist Officers had set up to guide the country after their ousting of the monarchy.

All this changed at the Sebha congress, which was convened following two months of intensive debate by the BPCs and other grassroots bodies throughout the country. The congress approved a Charter proclaiming that henceforth the Libyan people would be the sole masters of their destiny, administering all their affairs through their local basic people's congresses (BPC's). All traditional organs of government – such as the cabinet – were abolished.

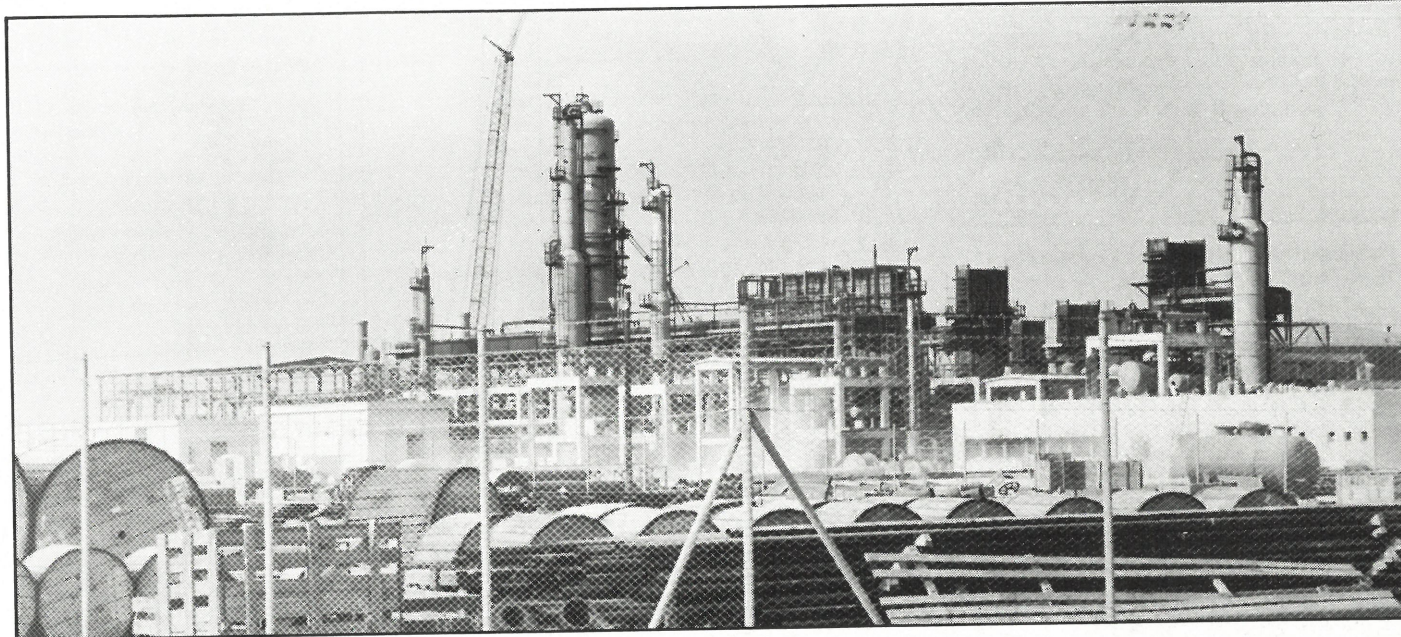
The Sebha Declaration affirmed that 'popular direct authority is the basis of the political system', and added: 'Authority is for the people, who alone should have authority.' The people would 'exercise their authority through the popular congresses, the people's committees, the syndicates, the unions, the professional associations and the General People's Congress (GPC)'. The GPC is the forum where the decisions of each BPC and trade association on each policy question are tallied. Final decisions are reached by majority vote of BPCs.

The Sebha Declaration also affirmed that socialism would form the basis of Libya's economy, and that the Quran, the Islamic Holy Book, 'is the law of society. The defence of Libya and the wider Arab homeland was declared 'the responsibility of every male and female citizen. Through general military training the people shall be trained and armed'. To mark the radical shift towards the people in the balance of political power in Libya, the Sebha congress proclaimed a change in the country's name, from the Libyan Arab Republic to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. 'Jamahiriya' is Arabic for 'state of the masses'.

The significance of the 1977 Sebha Congress was spelled-out by Staff Major Abdesalam Jalloud, a leading member of the Free Unionist Officers Movement, in an address to the congress on 28th February. Stressing that the new system represented a fundamental shift in the balance of power, he declared: 'For the first time in history the leadership has preceded the people in expressing and realising their aspirations by insisting on the need to establish people's power'.

Speaking in Sebha on 1st March 1977, Muammer Qadhafi explained that in a review of all state constitutions, throughout the world, 'we did not find a single text of genuine democracy. All of them concentrate on representation. They all have a house of deputies which appoints ministers'. The *jamahiri* system, he said, was fundamentally different, because at no stage did the people delegate their decision-making powers. 'I consider a law issued and implemented by the people to be a hundred times better than a law executed by the RCC. The people must enact their laws directly,' he declared.

In the past, he added, 'the RCC was the governing authority, but as of now the responsibility for future successes and failures will be borne by the people as a whole, working through their committees and congresses'.



The Jamahiriya has replaced the UK as the second largest oil supplier to the EEC

## Libya becomes Switzerland's largest oil supplier

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya has become Switzerland's largest supplier of crude oil, the OPEC news agency OPECNA disclosed on 3rd February. For the first time in five years, said the agency, Switzerland in 1983 stepped-up its oil imports, with the total rising by 11.2 per cent to 12 million tonnes. 81.8 per cent came from African producers, compared with 61.4 per cent in 1982, and the Jamahiriya was the largest single supplier.

OPECNA added that Swiss oil imports from the Arab Gulf countries decreased from 25.7 per cent of total imports to 16.6 per cent, and that North Sea oil last year accounted for a mere 1.6 per cent of Swiss imports, against 9.4 per cent in 1982.

On 29th August the West German economics daily *Handelsblatt* disclosed that the Jamahiriya had replaced the United Kingdom as the second largest oil supplier to the European Economic Community (EEC). In 1982 Libya supplied 9.4 per cent of total EEC imports, but the proportion rose to 12.8 per cent in the first three months of last year.

## Transport links expand by air and sea

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya's international transport links have been strengthened with the introduction by Geneva-based Medlift of a roll-on, roll-off and container ves-

sel service from north European ports.

The new service, which began on 1st January, was inaugurated amid reports from British shipping agents that business with the Jamahiriya was rising sharply, despite the slow-down of Libya's development programmes in the face of the international oil glut. Tilbury-based Searite, which acts for Italy's Tarros Line, disclosed that in the last six weeks of 1983 it handled 140 Twenty-Foot Equivalent Units (TEUs), and that it was hoping that the total for the year would reach 2,000 TEUs – the same as in 1981, before the start of the oil glut.

The adverse financial climate since the onset of the oil glut has not prevented the Jamahiriya from pressing ahead with projects to expand its domestic transportation links. Last month the International Airports Authority of India (IAAI) announced that its work on the second phase of the new airport at Brak would be completed by June. The \$45 million contract for the expansion scheme was awarded in 1981. Earthworks have been completed, and surfacing will start soon.

## Success for afforestation schemes

ONE OF the key problems facing agricultural development in the Libyan Jamahiriya has been the progressive encroachment of the desert northwards into the country's most fertile lands along the coast. A major factor in this process has been overgrazing by sheep and goats, which has resulted in much destruction of vegetation, leaving the soil exposed to serious

erosion by rainstorms. In recent years, however, the Jamahiriya has moved to halt the desert's advance by launching an ambitious afforestation programme, involving both forest and fruit trees.

On 30th January the Jamahiriya news agency JANA announced that the tree planting campaign was 'progressing successfully', and that 26,481,700 forest seedlings had been planted over a total area of 27,458 hectares in the areas of Ghadames, Az Zawiyah, Yifren, Tripoli, Al Aziziyeh, Gharian, Tarhouna, Homs, Zliten, Suq al Jein, Misrata, Sirte, Agedabia, Benghazi, Al Fateh, the Jebel Akhdar, Darmah and Tobruk. In addition, said JANA, 3,186,730 forest seedlings have been planted over 3,365 hectares in the areas of Al Ghanem, Gharian, South Zliten, Minum, Al Hamrayah, Al Hizam al Ahdar, Abu Grayan and Jebel Alakhdat.

Earlier, on 23rd January, JANA cited statistics released by the General People's Committee for Agrarian Reform and Land Reclamation showing that 416,260 fruit seedlings had been planted in the regions of Gharyan, Yifren, Tarhouna, Homs and Ghadames, all in the west of the Jamahiriya. JANA added that 286,126 fruit seedlings had been planted in the Jebel Akhdar, Al Fateh and Derna regions in the east. During the current season, 17,700,845 fruit seedlings will be planted throughout the Jamahiriya.

JANA noted that 'the active assistance of all citizens' had greatly contributed to the success of the afforestation programme. This was a reference to the collective work schemes in which thousands of citizens have volunteered their labour in intensive tree planting campaigns. In an address to a workers' conference in December,

Muammer Qadhafi pointed to these collective campaigns as being critical in assuring that the Jamahiriya's development schemes were completed on schedule.

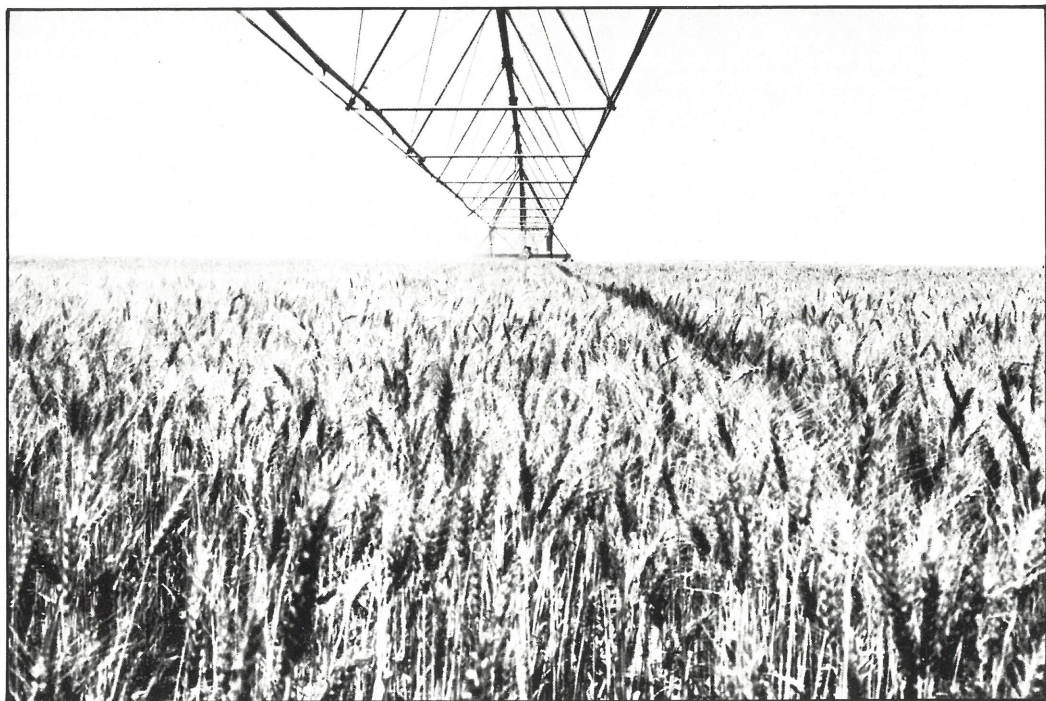
## Zuetina desalination plant commissioned

THE WEST German firm of Krupp Industrietechnik has completed commissioning of a desalination plant linked to a small power station at Zuetina, on the coast 150 kilometres south of Benghazi. *Middle East Economic Digest* disclosed on 27th January. The \$50.1 million contract was awarded two years ago.

Zuetina is also the site of one of the largest power stations planned by the Jamahiriya. Originally, it was envisaged that the scheme would have six 120 MW turbines and four 20,000 cubic metres per day capacity desalination units. Bids for the construction contract have been submitted by South Korea's Hyundai, Brown Boveri and Deutsche Babcock, both of West Germany, and by the Italian firm of Ansaldo. It has now been decided, however, to omit the desalination facility at Zuetina, and the scheme will go ahead as a power station only, with the originally-planned capacity of 720 MW.

The decision to drop the desalination units at Zuetina is thought to be linked to the Jamahiriya's scheme to build a 1,900 kilometres pipeline to carry 700 million cubic metres of water per annum from beneath the southern deserts for





In addition to providing foodstuffs, agriculture plays a vital part in industry by providing raw materials for food processing

industrial, agricultural and domestic use along the coast. The \$3.3 billion main construction contract for the pipeline scheme was recently won by South Korea's Don Ah Industrial and Construction Company. It is understood that Libya's planners decided that the water pipeline will obviate the need for a desalination facility at Zuetina on the scale originally envisaged, and the four companies which have applied for the Zuetina contract have now been requested to revise their bids. Consultant for the power station is Britain's Ewbank Preece.

In January it was disclosed that Amsterdam-based American Express International Banking Corporation has arranged a \$44.2 million financial package for a major desalination plant to be sited at Bunba. The letter of credit, to cover 70 per cent of \$63.1 million project, has been opened with the Central Bank of Libya through Algemene Bank Nederland.

The Dutch firm of Esmil International has already started initial work on the site. The plant will have three 10,000 cubic metres per day multi-stage flash desalination units a sea water intake, stores and an 11 MW power station. The main contract will also cover maintenance for five years.

The desalination units will be supplied by Esmil, and the civil works, electrical and mechanical works contracts have yet to be awarded. Main consultant is Esmil, and West Germany's Agiplan provided consultancy services at the tendering stage.

The Jamahiriya's \$62.5 billion 1981-85 development plan allocates \$6.6 billion to the electricity

sector, and calls for an increase in the country's installed generating capacity from 4,800 MW in 1980 to 9,400 MW in 1985. The plan also provides for the output of desalinated water to rise to 755 million cubic metres per day by the middle of the decade.

## New contracts for ABV valued at \$124 million

THE SWEDISH construction firm of Amerad Betong Vae-gfoerbaetrang (ABV) has won two new contracts in the Jamahiriya, together worth \$124 million, Stockholm radio announced on 14th January, adding that one of the awards was for a new motorway and the other for university buildings. Work on the two contracts is scheduled to take one year.

ABV is one of Sweden's largest and most successful international contracting companies, and the new orders bring the total value of its work in the Jamahiriya to nearly \$1.6 billion. One of the firm's largest projects is the construction of a new town at the south eastern oasis of Kufra. The contract, awarded in 1980, is valued at \$143.5 million and entails building 600 apartments, in one and two storey buildings, and infrastructure, including a new sewage treatment plant and schools. The new town will house 2,000 people, many of them workers from the nearby Kufra agricultural project.

## Qadhafi inspects industrial plants

THE KEEN interest which revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi takes in the Jamahiriya's economic progress was highlighted last month, when he conducted a tour of factories in the Tripoli region. On 30th January the Jamahiriya news agency JANA announced that Colonel Qadhafi had inspected factories producing paint, stoves, refrigerators, ploughs, trailers, school furniture, plastics, heater covers, artificial sponges, bricks and reinforced concrete girders. He also visited the Tripoli flour mills complex and the associated silos and bakery. Accompanying the Libyan leader was Mr Musa Abu Freiwa, the Jamahiriya's Secretary for Economy and Light Industry.

Earlier, on 23rd January, JANA announced that output at the Socialist Company for the Manufacture of Bricks, located at Jan-zour, near Tripoli, last year totalled 50,680 tonnes - eleven per cent higher than the target production figure. JANA disclosed that the company is to implement a plan to raise output still further.

## Grain output at high level

A KEY aim of revolutionary Libya's planners is to raise the country's level of food self-sufficiency by expanding agricultural output. The current \$62.5 billion 1981-85 development plan allocates \$1 billion for agricultural investment, and only the industrial sector, with spending set at \$17.1 billion, has a higher priority.

In addition to its role in providing foodstuffs, the agriculture sector plays a vital part in Libya's industrial plans, supplying the raw materials for food processing and other light industrial ventures. This was highlighted on 7th January when the Jamahiriya news agency JANA, citing sources in the General People's Committee for Economy and Light Industry, disclosed that the country's grain and animal fodder plants last year 'attained very high production levels'. The grain factories at Zliten, Suani, Sebha, Marj, Surman and Tobruk achieved outputs varying between 65 and 85 per cent of their design capacities, and the fodder plants at Zliten, Qarabolli, Al Abyar, Sebha, Tripoli, 7th April and Surman attained output levels of between 75 and 126 per cent of capacity.

On 16th November JANA announced that almost 100,000 hectares had been sown with wheat and barley in the 1983-84 planting season. The 1981-85 plan calls for output of wheat to rise to 428,800 tonnes by 1985, and for barley production to rise to 105,000 tonnes, compared with respective figures of 140,500 tonnes and 71,500 tonnes in 1980.

## \$60 million livestock order

RIISING INCOMES and living standards in the Jamahiriya have been accompanied by greatly improved diets, and in particular to a sharp rise in the consumption of meat. To match the growing demand, the 1981-85 development plan calls for the establishment of 64 new cattle breeding stations, to bring the country's total to 92 by the middle of the decade, with a capacity of 46,000 head. At the same time, Libya is engaged in a major programme of re-seeding to improve the quality of the grazing land used by sheep and goats. In addition, the development plan calls for the construction of a series of intensive poultry farms to produce millions of birds annually.

Until the Jamahiriya's own production is able to meet demand, however, the country must import some of its meat requirements, and Tripoli has negotiated a series of contracts with overseas suppliers of meat and livestock. The latest such order has just been won by the Italian firm of Balzarini & Corvi, and is reportedly valued at \$60 million. The Milan-based company will supply 600,000 sheep, 50,000 cattle and 10,000 tonnes of meat.

## Arab Homeland

17th January: The Arab People's Congress concludes a meeting in Tripoli with a statement condemning Yasser Arafat's recent visit to Cairo for talks with President Husni Mubarak.

18th January: Brigadier Abu Bakr Younis Jaber, Commander in Chief of the Libyan Arab Armed Forces, confers in Tripoli with Dr Abdul-lah Sa'adeh, a member of the Supreme Council of Lebanon's Syrian Social National Party, with Mr Taysir Quba'a, a member of the Politburo of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and with Mr George Batal, a member of the Politburo of the Lebanese Communist Party.

20th January: Staff Major Abdesalam Jalloud returns to the Jamahiriya after attending the Islamic Summit Conference in Casablanca. The Jamahiriya news agency JANA said that while in Morocco, Major Jalloud conferred with President Haj Omar Bongo of Gabon.

24th January: Mr Muhammad al Zarrouk Rajab, Secretary of the General People's Congress, receives a delegation from Mauritania's Permanent Secretariat of Cadre Training Institutes, which is currently touring the Jamahiriya.

25th January: Moroccan Premier Muhammad Abdelkarim Alomrani gives a banquet in Rabat in honour of the visiting Secretary and members of Libya's General People's Committee.

30th January: Major Khweildi Hamidi, Chief of Staff of the Libyan Arab Armed Forces, holds talks with Moroccan academics, writers and artists who are participating in the Moroccan cultural week being staged in Tripoli.

31st January: The Foreign Liaison Bureau summons the Chargé d'Affaires of the Tunisian High Commission in Tripoli to inform him of Libya's displeasure at the way in which Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, has turned his Tunis headquarters into a centre for terrorist activities.

4th February: Muammer Qadhafi confers with Sheikh Ali Muslim, a special envoy from Saudi Arabia's King Fahd. The Jamahiriya news agency JANA said that the envoy conveyed confirmation from King Fahd that the Egyptian regime's return to the Islamic Conference Organisation depended on its abrogation of the Camp David accords.

8th February: In a commentary on the withdrawal of US forces from Beirut to warships offshore, the Jamahiriya news agency JANA notes that the warships are being used to attack positions of the Lebanese nationalist forces. This meant that Washington 'has officially entered the war in Lebanon'.

9th February: The Jamahiriya news agency JANA discloses that Muammer Qadhafi has sent messages to Syrian President Hafez al Assad and to Mr Walid Jumblatt, leader of Lebanon's National Salvation Front, affirming that if the United States persisted in its aggressions against the Arab homeland, 'we should use all the means of war that we possess to destroy the US fleets in the Mediterranean'.

11th February: The Permanent Secretariat of the Arab People's Congress calls for firm Arab action to repulse US aggression in Lebanon.

12th February: Staff Major Abdesalam Jalloud confers in Damascus with Syrian Foreign Minister Abdel Halim Khaddam.

13th February: The Jamahiriya news agency JANA discloses that the United Sudanese National Front, an umbrella organisation for groups opposed to President Jaafar Numeiri, has sent a message to Muammer Qadhafi affirming that the shelling of Lebanon by US warships demanded a firm and united Arab response.

## International

15th January: The Venezuelan Oil Minister and his accompanying delegation leave Tripoli after a three day visit to the Jamahiriya. During the talks, the Venezuelans formally invited Muammer Qadhafi to visit their country.

18th January: Dr Ali Abdesalam Treiki, Libya's Permanent Representative at United Nations headquarters in New York, confers with the Canadian Ministers of Agriculture, Trade and Fisheries and with members of the Canadian Parliament. The meeting centred on bilateral relations and co-operation. In addition to his UN post, Dr Treiki is Libya's Ambassador to Canada.

22nd January: The Turkish-Libyan Arab Brotherhood Society stages a ceremony at its Ankara headquarters to mark the graduation of the first group of Turkish students taking courses in recitals from the Quran, the Islamic Holy Book. The ceremony was attended by a high ranking Turkish official, on behalf of the Prime Minister, Mr Turgut Ozal.

25th January: The Jamahiriya news agency JANA announces that the Islamic People's Congress has concluded a meeting in West Berlin with a statement affirming the need for the Arab and Islamic nations to take effective steps to counter Israeli and western expansionism.

30th January: JANA discloses that the Basic People's Congress in the Brazilian state of Amazonia has ended its third regular session of the year by sending a telegram to Muammer Qadhafi reaffirming their commitment to the ideals of the Al Fateh Revolution.

30th January: Revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi receives Mr Samel Satoni, an envoy from Nicaragua, who conveyed a letter from the leadership of the central American country.

1st February: The Jamahiriya news agency JANA discloses that the Basic People's Congress in Brazil's Sao Paulo state has sent a special message to Colonel Qadhafi reaffirming its commitment to the Al Fateh Revolution. The message marked the conclusion of the Congress's third regular session of the year.

7th February: Brigadier Abu Bakr Younis Jaber, Commander in Chief of the Libyan Arab Armed Forces, holds talks in Tripoli with Colonel Mambo Alan Galo, member of Guinea-Bissau's Higher Committee for National Struggle.

10th February: Tripoli's Voice of the Greater

Arab Homeland radio broadcasts a message from Muammer Qadhafi to Ayatollah Khomeini, pledging the Jamahiriya's firm support for the Iranian people. The message marked the Fifth Anniversary of the Iranian Revolution.

## Jamahiriya

21st January: Two gunmen ambush and critically wound Mr Ammar al Taggazy, Secretary of the Libyan People's Bureau in Rome.

6th February: Somali workers and students in the Jamahiriya take to the streets to protest against the visit of Egyptian President Husni Mubarak to Somalia.

8th February: Mr Muhammad al Mabruk, the Jamahiriya's Civil Service Secretary, confers in Tripoli with Mr Michael Lissage, Director of the Brussels-based International Centre for Administrative Science.

9th February: The Jamahiriya news agency JANA announces that Mr Abdel Ati al Ubeidi, Secretary of the Foreign Liaison Bureau, has received the credentials of Mr Naseib Kagy, the Albanian Ambassador to Libya.

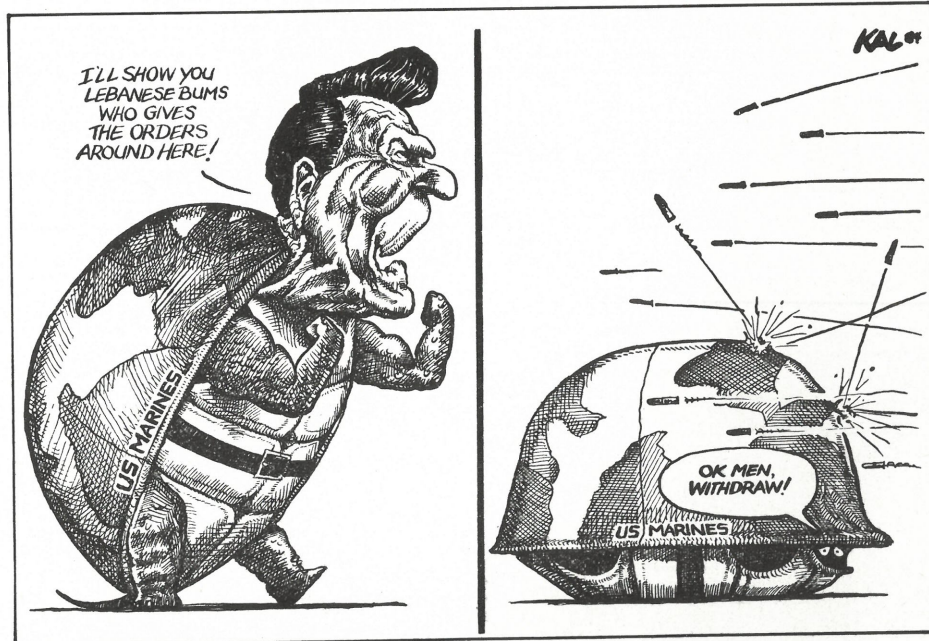
11th February: The General People's Congress begins its Ninth Ordinary Session in the People's Hall in Tripoli.

## Jamahiriya Economic News

15th January: The Secretary General of the International Union of Oil and Chemical Industries Workers tours the Zawiyeh oil refinery, on the coast west of the Libyan capital.

17th January: Libya's Chemicals and Allied Industries Union concludes an agreement with the African Oil and Allied Products Union aimed at boosting co-operation between the two bodies in all fields, including the confrontation of the monopoly power of multinational corporations.

10th February: It is reported that the Jamahiriya and Greece are engaged in negotiations on an oil barter deal. Last year, the two countries reached agreement for the supply over twelve months of 400,000 tonnes of crude oil, with an option for Greece to double the amount.





# The GREEN BOOK

BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

## PART 1

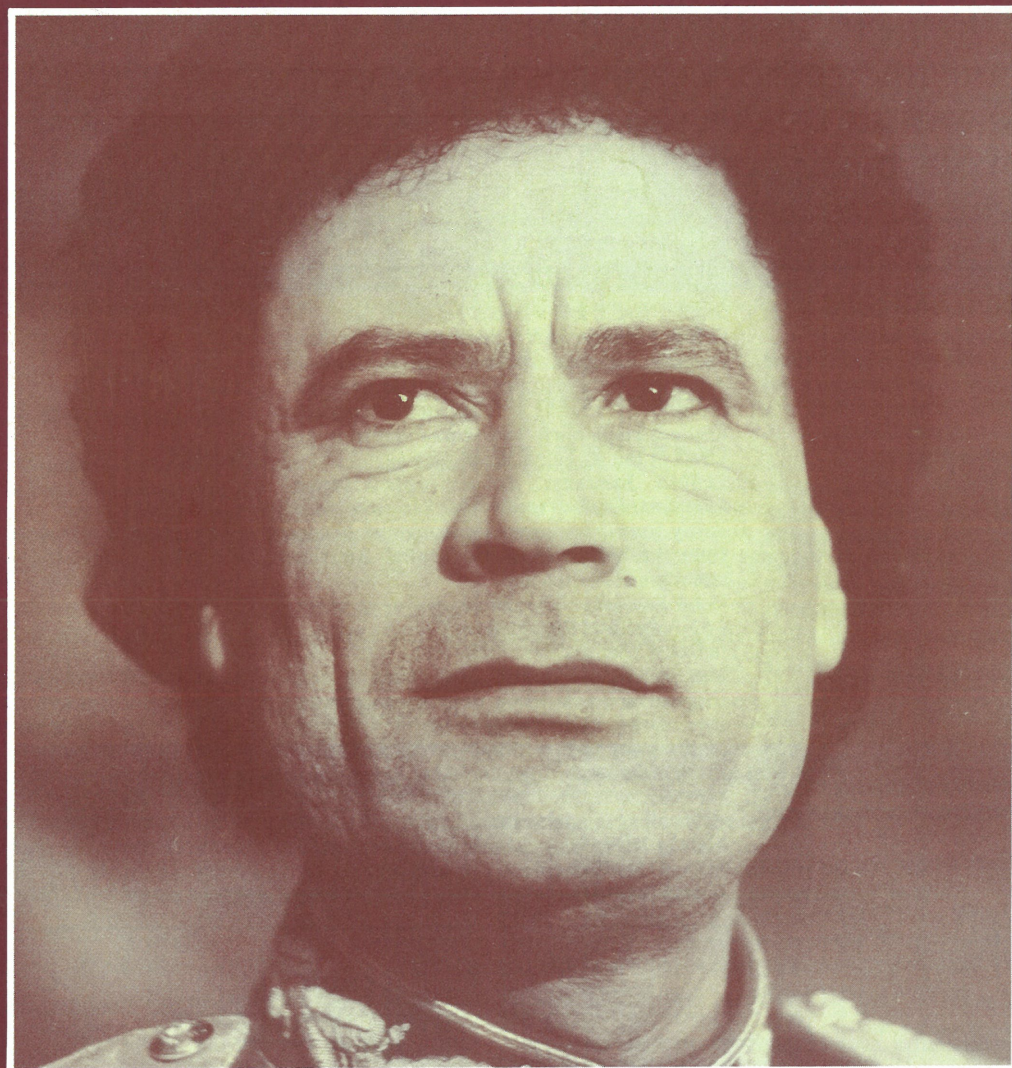
The solution of the problem of Democracy

## PART 2

The solution of the Economic Problem

## PART 3

The Social Basis of the Third Universal Theory



In these three volumes the Libyan leader examines the economic, social and political problems confronting the world today, and presents a radical programme for their solution.

The Green Book provides a comprehensive review of the theories on which the Libyan Jamahiriya is based. The proposals put forward by Muammer al Qadhafi are not merely theories but an explanation and insight into the structure and priorities of modern Libya.

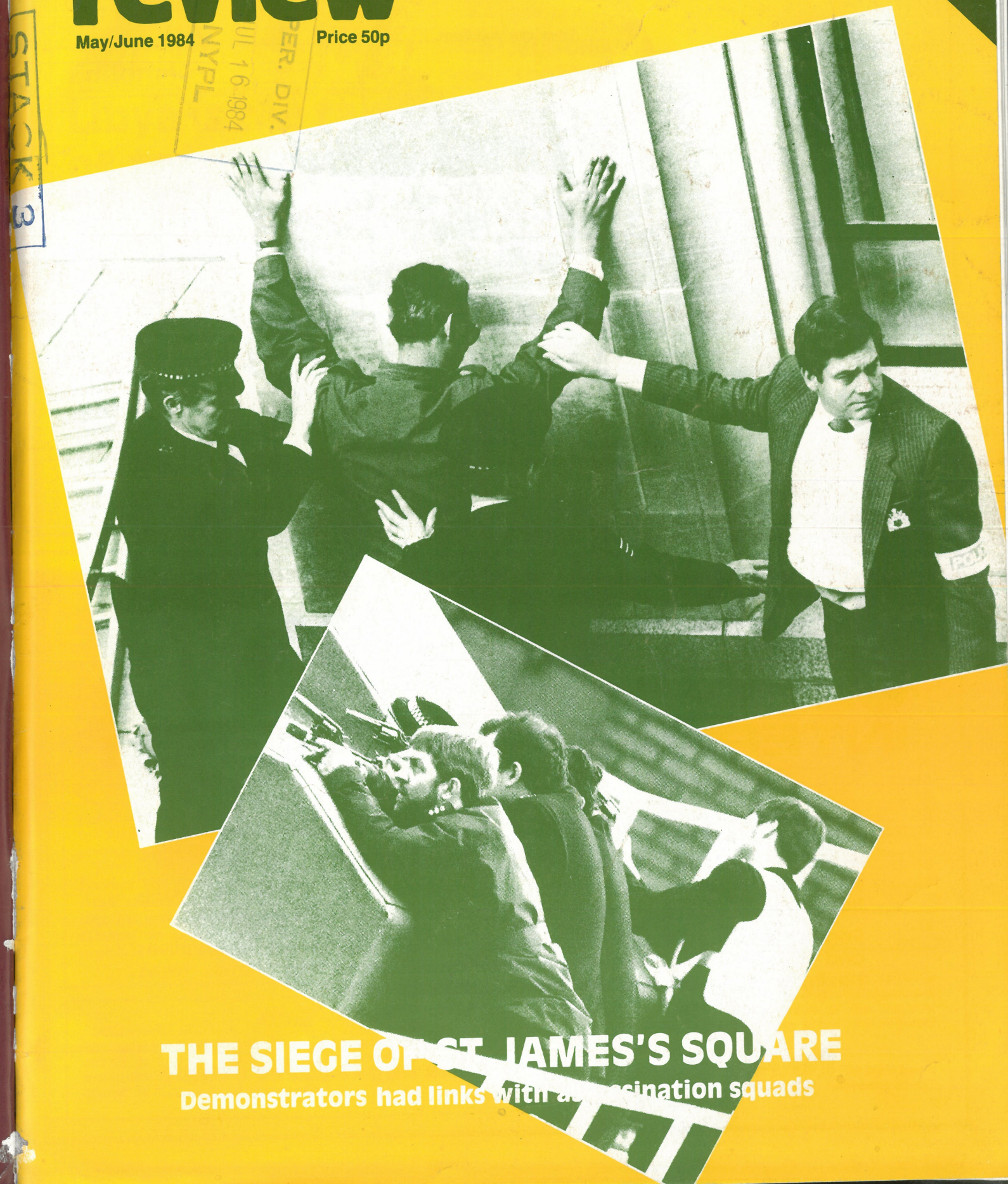
Copies of The Green Book can be obtained from The Information Department, The Libyan People's Bureau of the Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, 5 St James's Square, London SW1.

# jamahiriya review

May/June 1984

Price 50p

Terrorist group backed by Britain and United States



THE SIEGE OF ST JAMES'S SQUARE  
Demonstrators had links with assassination squads